DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN
PRESENTATION VOLUME

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN PRESENTATION VOLUME

PRESENTED ON
HIS SEVENTY FIRST
BIRTHDAY

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN
PRESENTATION VOLUME COMMITTEE

Available at :
MAKTABA JAMIA LTD., NEW DELHI
DELHI - BOMBAY

1968

Printed at
Crescent Printing Works (P) Limi

EDITORIAL NOTE

A Board consisting of the following members was established to prepare a presentation volume to Dr. Zakir Husain on his attaining the age of 71 years :

1. Dr. Tara Chand : *President*
2. Prof. M. Mujeeb
3. Dr. S. Abid Husain
4. Shri G. Ramachandran
5. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan
6. Shri Malik Ram : *Secretary*
7. Shri M. R. Sherwani : *Treasurer*

It was felt that we owed it to him both as a scholar and man of letters as well as the President of the Indian Republic—the highest honour in the State, that a Presentation Volume containing appreciation of his work and life-long services to the country together with learned contributions from eminent scholars both Indian and foreign be prepared in English and Urdu.

As the chairman of the Editorial Board it is my very pleasant duty to thank my colleagues for the help that they have given in the preparation of these volumes. I am especially indebted to Shri Malik Ram who placed unreservedly his indefatigable energy and his learning and scholarship at our disposal to prepare these volumes. As the secretary of the Board he had to bear the heavy

burden of collecting and arranging the contributions and printing and publishing of these volumes. I am glad to say that he has accomplished the job with admirable efficiency and promptness.

I take this opportunity to thank Principal Ziyaul Hasan Faruqi for his help in various ways. I am also grateful to Professor Mohibbul Hasan for seeing the volume through the press.

TARA CHAND

CONTENTS

PRESENTATION VOLUME COMMITTEE

1. His Holiness
   Dr. Syyedna Mohd. Burhan-ud-Din, Bombay
2. Her Highness Begam of Bhopal
3. Dr. K.A. Hamied, Bombay
4. His Highness Nawab of Rampur
5. Mrs. Raksha Saran, New Delhi
6. Col. S. Bashir Hussain Zaidi, New Delhi
7. Hakim Abdul Hameed, Delhi
8. Mr. Mustafa Rashid Shervani, New Delhi
9. Dr. Tara Chand, New Delhi
10. Prof. M. Mujeeb, New Delhi
11. Dr. S. Abid Husain, New Delhi
12. Mr. G. Ramachandran, New Delhi
13. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, New Delhi
14. Mr. Malik Ram, New Delhi

CONTRIBUTORS

1. *Tara Chand* : Member of Parliament, New Delhi.
2. *M S Adiseshia* : Deputy Director-General UNESCO, Paris.
3. *Sir John Sargent* : (Formerly Education Advisor and Education Secretary, Government of India), Leamington Spa (U.K.)
4. *Bernard Lewis* : Professor of Near and Middle Eastern History, University of London (U.K.)
5. *Ludo Rocher* : Professor of Sanskrit, University of Pennsylvania—U.S.A.
6. *Z A. Desai* : Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
7. *K.A. Nizami* : Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
8. *Mohibbul Hasan* : Professor of Indian History and Culture, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.
9. *S Maqbul Ahmad* : Professor and Director of West Asia Institute, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
10. *S A. Ali* : General Secretary, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, Delhi.
11. *S H Askari* : Director, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
12. *Louis Gardet* : Professor, College Philosophique et Theologique, Toulouse (France).
13. *W. Montgomery Watt* : Professor of Arabic, University of Edinburgh (U.K.)

14. *A.J. Arberry* : Pembroke College, Cambridge (U.K.).

15. *Syed Abdul Latif* : Formerly Professor of English, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

16. *A.A.A. Fyzee* : Formerly, Vice Chancellor, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

17. *Malik Ram* : Editor, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

18. *Sir Godfrey R. Driver* : Professor, Oriental Institute, Oxford University (U.K.).

19. *Annemarie Schimmel* : University of Harvard, Mass.—U.S.A.

20. *Asloob Ahmad Ansari* : Professor of English, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

21. *A K. Julius Germanus* : Formerly Professor of Arabic, University of Budapest (Hungary).

22. *K.G. Saiyidain* : (Formerly Education Secretary, Government of India) Director Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

23. *S. Abid Husain* : Formerly, Professor of Education and Literature, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

24. *Hiren Mukerjee* : Member of Parliament, New Delhi.

25. *Dr. Gopal Singh* : Member of Parliament, New Delhi.

26. *G Morley* : Hon. Advisor on Museums, Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

27. *C. Sivaramamurti* : Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

28. *S K. Bharadwaj* : Scholar of Sanskrit and Vedas, New Delhi.

29. *V.K.R.V. Rao* : Minister of Transport and Shipping, Government of India, New Delhi.

30. *Menahem Mansoor*: Chairman, Dept. of Hebrew and Semitic Studies, University of Wisconsin—U.S.A.

31. *Humayun Kabir* : Member of Parliament, New Delhi.

32. *Mohammad Shabbir Khan* : Professor of Economics, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

33. *Ishaqunnabi Alavi* : Scholar of Oriental and Islamic Studies, Rampur.

34. *M.A. Mu'id Khan* : Director, Dairatul-Ma'arif-Il-Osmania, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN—A TRIBUTE

TARA CHAND

Dr. Zakir Husain has been elected to the position of the highest dignity and honour open to an Indian citizen. His elevation to the high office of the President of India is both a recognition of his eminence as a public man and an acknowledgement of his title to stand forth as a worthy representative of the Indian people.

Obviously in choosing a person to discharge such onerous duties every five years the electors perform a function of exceeding importance. Most reasonable people whom prejudice has not blinded will agree that in the year 1967 the electors could not have made a more suitable choice, for Dr. Zakir Husain's long career had demonstrated that he possessed the qualities of mind and character which were befitting to a remarkable degree the holder of this office. He began life as a dedicated teacher who had renounced the lure of position and pelf in order to build up a national institution where hard work, sacrifice and devotion were the main assets. The scholarship that was needed he possessed in an ample measure, but love for the young and abiding interest in their moral and intellectual development was of the utmost importance for an ideal teacher. Zakir Husain poured out all his affection, his fatherly care to provide for the needs of his pupils so that they loved and revered him. He gave to the Jamia Millia Islamia of Delhi his very best, as an organiser and administrator. By his wisdom he overcame the innumerable difficulties which beset its early career and succeeded in placing it on a firm foundation in spite of the hostility of its enemies and the doubts of its friends.

The field of education provided him with the opportunity to make his mark on the country. Gandhiji's plan of basic education needed some one to give it both theoretical basis and practical shape. The idea formulated by Gandhiji had to be developed, organised and translated into practise. This was achieved mainly through his work. He used his intellectual

equipment and practical experience to make the plan acceptable to the country.

In the wake of the partition of India in 1947 many intractable problems arose. Among them one was that of the Muslim University, Aligarh. It had been a centre of Muslim League politics, it had been closely associated with its separationist propaganda. When the partition came the University was faced with a situation for which it was wholly unprepared. It came as a stunning blow. The future became shrouded in darkness. The Government of India, however, realized that the educational institution could not be allowed either to wither away or become wrecked A skilful captain alone could rescue it and give it a new life.

Zakir Husain was chosen for the delicate and by no means easy task. The community was wallowing in despondency and doubt. The University had lost a sense of purpose and direction. Between the present and the immediate past there yawned an unbridgeable gulf. Lacerated hearts and sickened souls could not expect to face the uphill task of rebuilding the institution from the roots. It was a challenge which Zakir Husain accepted.

In the warmth of his benign personality the clouds began to melt away. His indefeasible enthusiasm uplifted the drooping spirit of the staff and students and the campus which was deserted and forlorn began to overflow with youth in growing numbers and to hum with activity. The gaping sores began to heal and rays of hope to illumine the path towards a bright future. The transformation was due to one man—Zakir Husain, the Vice-Chancellor.

From Vice-Chancellorship to the governorship of Bihar was translation from the dark storm tossed seas to the waters which were calm and pellucid. The governor of a province has many social activities to perform, many welfare schemes to support, many good causes to promote and public spirited individuals and societies to encourage.

He is the centre round which much ceremonial rotates. He may have to inaugurate learned societies, to preside over con-

ferences and meetings, to start industrial enterprises, to open roads, bridges, power-houses and a thousand other functions to attend.

He is the formal head of the executive. His mediation, counsel, warning, recommendation is sought by innumerable interested parties. The state government is bound by constitution to consult him. Between the Union and the States influences pass forward and backward through many channels. The governor is the ears and eyes of the Central Government keeping it informed of the ebb and flow of provincial affairs and he is also an agency through which the State administration presses its needs and claims upon the attention of the Central Government. The conduct of this two way traffic requires skill and diplomatic art of high order, considering how little authority he actually possesses and how much the constitutional limitations bind his powers.

Dr. Zakir Husain's suavity, cheerful temper, good humour and tact enabled him to overcome the difficulties and to win the admiration and gratitude of all concerned.

With his next assignment he stepped into a wholly different world. The Vice-presidentship of India is a curious amalgam of legislative and administrative functions. The Vice-president is the chairman of the Council of States—the Rajya Sabha, and an ornamental functionary who officiates for the President in his absence and performs a number of ceremonial duties.

The chairmanship is a trying job, a continuous day to day trial of temper and wit. For at least two hours every morning when the Council is in session the occupant of the Chair is literally on tenterhooks. The Rajya Sabha is like a perpetually heaving sea, occasionally and for some brief moments comparatively calm, otherwise agitated and billowy. Winds of passion anger, indignation, disdain. suspicion. misunderstanding are constantly blowing and lashing its surface into waves sometimes skyhigh. Rajya Sabha mirrors the clashes of viewpoints and moods of political parties which represent the various sections of public opinion. It is a fascinating, although not always an attractive, study in the pulls and thrusts of argument, in the alternative of attack and defence, of a never-ending cold war

which may suddenly, spontaneously or deliberately, burst forth into a hot wordy war.

When this happens the Chairman who has to be on the *qui vive* all the time may find himself involved in a tug of war with some or a number of members of the Council. His efforts to pacify the ruffled tempers and to cool the heated atmosphere usually succeed. But not always. Then he appeals to the good sense of the parties, expostulates with the speaker, even entreats him. In case all these fail, what may he do ? The obstreperous speaker will not resume his seat, will continue to wave his arms, persist in speaking and defying the chair. Pandemonium may follow—shouting, gesticulation, rising up together of many members and accusing one another, cries of order order. Some one suggests to the Chairman to name the offending member. The Chairman may feel constrained in the interests of propriety to name. On hearing his name the member ordinarily leaves the house and calm is restored. But in rare cases naming may not terminate the uproar. The excited member may refuse to withdraw. The situation may assume a seriousness which calls for drastic action The Chairman has to resort to the last weapon in his armoury of discipline and order the physical removal of the member from the chamber. As the order is executed by the Marshal, the House at the instance of the leader of the House may suspend the member for a short or long period. An agitated house then proceeds with the business on the agenda paper.

Unfortunately the Rajya Sabha has in recent years been losing its character as the House of Elders, as the house where members debate coolly and calmly without display of temperamental fire-works. This is because the times through which we are passing are unusually critical and the legislatures only reflect the conflicts and contradictions which bedevil India's social and political processes. The past is at loggerheads with the future and the present is the helpless witness of the grim fight. Old values which have become otiose cling to the body politic and refuse to be shaken ; new values struggle hard to find a firm foothold. The dominant social groups of yesterday are finding their status slipping, the submerged classes are asserting themselves. Representative democracy with its method of elections has stirred and stimulated the countryside. The

value of the vote is being increasingly appreciated and ambitions have been whetted. Our national economy is in a ferment, with accent upon agriculture and rapid change in its medieval techniques the producer is becoming conscious of his importance and moving towards more satisfying living standards. Developments in industry, transport, in colossal schemes of irrigation, and generation of electric power, are inciting social and mental mobility. Dangers to the country's integrity and freedom loom large across the northern frontier and a sleepless all-time alert vast defensive system is taking shape and impressing its deep stamp upon the Indian mind. For the first time after centuries India stands four square to the storms that blow from all sides, a fact of far-reaching effects.

If there then is excitement, distraction, discontent, even revolt, there need be little surprise. In these times of extraordinary stress—economic, social and political, the rational approach, which is fundamental to democratic functioning is difficult to sustain in an atmosphere surcharged with emotion.

Dr. Zakir Husain, however, stood the recurring ordeal from day to day with immense fortitude and even though his equanimity was sometimes ruffled, he maintained throughout his dignity and did not allow the business of the House to be unduly disturbed.

When, therefore, he relinquished the office he received rich tributes from all sections of the House. They showed how greatly appreciative members belonging to the party in power and also the parties in opposition were of his fairness and competence to direct the proceedings of the House.

Now that he has been called to fill the highest office in the realm his responsibilities have multiplied. He is the cynosure of all the eyes. His words and deeds are heard and watched all over the country and beyond. The President lives in the open, his time marked out and his programme scheduled. His ceremonial duties are time-consuming and heavy and his contribution to the proper functioning of the state no less exacting.

The President, whatever view one may take of his constitutional authority, is the confidante and adviser of the government

and as such he bears a tremendous burden of moral responsibility upon his shoulders. His consultations with the Prime Minister and his or her colleagues are confidential as they ought to be, but he has the right to know all about the affairs of the state and the privilege to tender frank and free opinion regarding them. His opinions have a special value for he is not immersed in the turmoil of the day-to-day politics and the exciting game of clash of personalities. He stands above conflict of opinions and the pressures of immediate problems crying for solution. Such opinion detached, objective, based upon experience of the past, awareness of consequences and seized of implications for the totality of national interests is likely to command, if not acceptance, at least serious consideration Hence the personality, wisdom and reasonableness of the President may to an unknown extent sway the views of the government. The success of their measures and policies may depend upon it, as also the resolution of awkward situations due to transient personal differences or temporary ebullitions. He may oil the wheels of administration and smooth its passage through rough ground. By his tact he may even prevent disaster. Then his impact upon the country's foreign relations can prove of immense benefit, for in his visits abroad he obtains the opportunity of meeting the highest dignitaries of these countries, gathering their opinions about the affairs of his own country and the plans of his hosts. His words may avert misunderstandings and promote friendly relations.

It must not be forgotten that the President may in an emergency be called upon to assume all the powers—civil and military, of government in order that social order may be maintained and the integrity of the country safeguarded. In such an awful situation—which one hopes will never arise, he is the sole arbiter of the country's destiny. Whether there are rare moments of dire need and emergency or normal times, the President remains a symbol of national unity, prestige and power. The winds of faction, nor the passions of party strife, effect him. His task is to stretch his protective arms in times of trial as well as in times of peace and to watch that the great ideals of equality, liberty and justice embodied in the Constitution continue to shine brightly.

For the due fulfilment of this noble and weighty trust

Dr. Zakir Husain is well equiped. Nature has endowed him abundantly with gifts which ensure success, and experience gained in a variety of assignments has strengthened those qualities of balance, judgement, humanity and wisdom which are so necessary in the bearer of an office so exalted as that of the President. If the past is any guarantee, one may confidently predict for him a future equally bright and successful.

A PERSONAL TESTAMENT

M. S. ADISESHIAH

A dilemma

How does one attempt to portray a multicoloured prism flashing at its every turn, which lights the dark contours of existence, which dyzzles the eye with its effulgence filling life with beauty and joy, which acts as a beacon and lodestar, beckoning ever onward and forward? Zakir Husain the Educator, the Fighter, Scholar and Statesman, Zakir Husain the Humanist and the Man, Zakir Husain the Friend.

Whom and what shall I write about? Let others describe his scholarship, I will describe his humanity. Let others talk of his freedom fight; I will record his vision for India. Let others speak of his achievements as a statesman; I will refer to his work for international understanding. Let others tell of his philosophy; I will portray his friendship. Let others evoke his many-sided qualities of head and heart; I will be steadfast, as he, to concentrate on the qualities treasured above all: his unswerving loyalty to truth and his out-pouring charity to all men, women and children.

A vision

Today our world accepts education as an explosive force in the arena of underdevelopment. Today every country which has not yet achieved this, has adopted the norms and goals of universal, free and compulsory education for all its children; of universal access to secondary education, of the availability of higher or specialized education to as large a group as desire and are qualified for it. Today the scandal of adult illiteracy has shocked the conscience of the people and governments of the world, and its eradication is accepted as a national imperative, an international task and a world responsibility. Today a tremendous educational movement is under way, because the

struggle for development begins with the struggle for human dignity as enshrined in education, because it has been demonstrated beyond all doubt that education is the only gateway to national development, to improving and increasing the standard of living to which every man, woman and child, everywhere and at all times, is entitled.

Fifty years ago, it was another story. When Zakir Husain looked at his native land and its 350 million people over half a century ago, what he saw was a terrifying spectacle of ignorance, poverty and disease, the terrible vicious circles leading to the degradation of the individual human spirit and of human society, as implacable and immutable as the punishments in the visions of poets of old. More than 90 per cent of the population was illiterate; only slightly more than 10 per cent of the children were in primary schools; and the economy seemed frozen in the act of collapse. Average life expectancy was 19; average annual income around 40 Rupees. Handicrafts and small industries were fast disappearing, and the mass of unemployed and under-employed landless agricultural labourers was reaching staggering proportions. And quinquennial famines stalked the land.

These were the days when nations and peoples were thought to be divided between those endowed with intelligence and those born mediocre, those with the right to wealth, leisure and education, and those born to work for a pittance, in poverty and illiteracy. These were the days when it was held as a given and uncontrovertible truth that some nations and peoples were called by divine right to be rulers and carry the burdens of the ruling class, and that others were destined by Providence to be ruled and to enjoy the benefits of a subject people ; that there were superior and inferior races, civilized and barbarian peoples, higher and lower cultures. Education was a luxury reserved for those born with the riches to afford it, a privilege limited to those with the necessary aptitude and intelligence, a facility reserved for the superior race to which some selected members of the inferior race might graciously be admitted, once assimilated to the others through some curious process of osmosis.

The India of those days was not only a land of growing material poverty, it was a land of moral and spiritual

degradation. It was a massive case of democracy denied, and human rights ignored and violated.

Zakir Husain's vision of his land—as free, independent, growing and developing, gaining a sufficiency of material wherewithal, achieving a flowering of spiritual and cultural grace—this vision made him cut through the quagmire of mass poverty and human demoralization and light on education as the key to the new vistas which could be open to India, as the crucible in which her self-sustaining growth could be welded and forged. The horizon of this vision extended to a whole world freed from colonialism. In freeing our peoples from material and spiritual subjugation, all subject peoples everywhere would be freed. Zakir Husain, like Gandhi and Nehru, taught all of us that the liberation of India would trigger the process in which all enslaved peoples would be freed, that India's own freedom was only one of the two spurs which drove her unrelenting fight, that a world freed from the shackles of colonialism would be sparked by the freeing of India and the educational explosion with which it was accomplished. Today that vision is a fact of world history and a cause of that contemporary acceleration which was so long awaited that it seemed impossible, which even now has not yet been fully understood or believed.

In those far off and terrifying days, it was not only foresight that was needed to take a political and moral decision of such dimensions, a decision that education was the instrument ; it needed wisdom too, and courage and charity. This was the amalgam from which the vision of Zakir Husain was fashioned, and this also provides the clue to the content of the education he devised, the quality of the educational system which is associated with him, the nature of the instruction that followed from it, all of which taken together provided his friend and leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the constructive programme on which the plan for Purna Swaraj rested.

A friend

It was August 15, 1947. As the chimes of midnight sounded, we heard that voice, beloved of the masses of our land, sound the clarion call to freedom : "long years ago we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem

our pledge, not wholly nor in full measure but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom" cried Jawaharlal Nehru. India awoke, but in part, to a brief period of violence, bloodshed and carnage, which constitutes the one inglorious chapter of our all-too-brief history as an independent nation. Uncertainty, fear, gloom and despair were stalking everywhere.

Nor was it different in the university community. Students and teachers who had fought bravely for their country's independence, young and old who had contributed their all for the liberation of the land, pupils and professors who had been working at their studies and applying the results to the constructive programme of the Congress, college and school personnel who had been preparing themselves for the difficult and decisive role that they would be called upon to play in their motherland, now renewed and freed, were suddenly left as a ship in a vast, uncharted ocean, without rudder or compass. In part, this feeling we had was the anticlimax, the aftermath of the emotional glow and fervour of the fighting days. To some extent it also came from the discovery that the wresting of political freedom is only the start of the slow, difficult and seemingly impossible ascent to self-development. More particularly with the emergence of India and Pakistan as independent countries, the existing student and university organizations and their action programmes had lost their meaning and *raison d'etre*. Students and teachers had no longer a focus for their own lives as members of a community, a society, a nation.

It was at this point that I went and called upon the Principal of Jamia Millia, Delhi, Zakir Husain, and came away with a deep sense of humanity and friendship which has stayed with me ever since, and with my wife, who was associated with me in our common work with student and university life. In Zakir Husain, the university community, the students and teachers, the men and women in colleges and schools, found the friend they were looking for. Nothing else would have met the need we felt then, would have filled the void we had within ourselves. He was the founder of the Indian Committee of the World University Service and its Chairman for over four years. He was the friend of every university man and

woman who was looking for direction and meaning; he was accessible at all times to any student or teacher who needed him; and he was always ready to give all he had and all that was asked of him. I recall his closing words at the first Indian Conference of the World University Service at Rajaji Hall, Madras, in March 1947 : "May you bless and be blessed : May you serve and be served : May you give and be given : May you receive and be received" to a university community which needed blessing and service and giving and receiving so badly, and which would find them only in blessing, serving, giving and receiving.

Truth

There are in everyone's life, in the life of the community and the nation, awful moments of truth, from which it is all too human to recoil, and—now that I have been called upon to live and serve other lands and cultures for over two decades, and from this vantage point I would dare generalize—from which the Indian spirit in particular draws back and flinches. Those moments are often terrible to the spirit and to the imagination. But they are also moments of wisdom and the mark of destiny. In missing them, in side-stepping them or not facing them, we may be avoiding some grievous pain for ourselves and perhaps for others, particularly those near and dear to us, but we are nevertheless poorer because of it, and drag others down into our poverty.

Truth demands courage and is worth courage. That is what we have learned from Gandhiji, the great Satyagrahi of all time and history. And Zakır Husain is a man who lives with and by the truth—the truth which makes man free. That truth involves him in choosing at times the harsh alternative ; it forces him to expose to himself and to others the falsity and rationalisations that are temptingly set before him ; it leads him to be hard and demanding with himself at all times.

I have seen his loyalty to truth at work in promoting international understanding in Unesco, as a member of the Indian Delegation to the General Conference and as a representative of India on its Executive Board. Only the other day, in his acceptance speech—the briefest ever made —at his inauguration as President of the Republic, referring

to our being prone as a nation to talk too much, he advised with startling simplicity and painful truth that "we must talk less and work more." This dedication to truth, which is born of his spiritual depth and luminosity, stamps him and those who share his life and friendship with the mark of dauntless courage. For truth, like sin, leaves its indelible mark on the human personality its glorious scars. If Zakir Husain is, as he is for me, the freest man that I know, free from worry, from anxiety, from care—not in the sense that he does not have more than his share of these, but that he is their master, not their servant—free from ambition, free from all that makes life weary and burdensome, free as only one who finds in the bonds of service, the perfect freedom of the dancer in his dance, it is because the foundation of his life, the bedrock of his existence, is truth.

Charity

In the end, it is charity that matters above all else. That is the thought and conviction with which I come away from every encounter with Zakir Husain. One can have all else: the alchemy which can turn stone into gold ; riches that can buy one's way into any place; knowledge that opens up new worlds; silver-tongued oratory to persuade the powerful or mobilize the masses; even faith which can move mountains. But without charity, as we know, some of all that will turn to dust and ashes; most of it will not remain ; all of it will count for nothing in our hearts. It is charity alone that ennobles us and all that we do, and it is this ennobling quality that all of us in India and all of us in all countries of the world need. We need the charity to warm the coldness of our hearts; we need the charity to purify the imperfections of our minds; we need the charity to cleanse the impurities from our spirits.

The charity that flows from Zakir Husain is part of his being. He loves because he must, not because he needs. No matter what he is doing when he meets me, his thoughts go out to all his friends, important and lowly, to my driver in Paris who used to take him round to the parks, the rose gardens and displays which he loves so much, and to the individual artists, writers, scientists and students from many nations whom he met while staying with me. He asks after

the servents in my Paris residence who enjoyed caring for him, and the many friends in government, private business and universities in Geneva, Hamburg and Paris whom he got to know in the course of his association with the World University and Unesco. One has only to meet these people who have for a brief moment come into contact with Zakir Husain to see that charity begets charity.

His charity, suffusing every part of his being, not just a mere feature, is a living and active force, streaming forth from his soul, welling up from his heart, a giving and receiving that is embodied in his mind. And it is to this very essence of his being to which I must ultimately appeal in recording this my personal testament. For thus I know that he will receive what I have written, imperfect as it is, in that same spirit of charity with which he receives all humble gifts. I know that he will understand why I have not been able to offer anything, except what I received from him. And I know he will believe that in setting down what he has meant for me, this poor and faltering picture of his vision for his land and his people, his frindship for me, his truth in living and his charity for all, it was not my admiration nor my respect nor my love for him but the words to express it which have proved inadequate.

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN—EDUCATIONIST

SIR JOHN SARGENT

I regard it as a great honour to have been asked to contribute to the Presentation Volume in honour of Dr. Zakir Husain on the occasion of his 70th birthday, which is to be celebrated in February, 1968. I should like to assure him in the first place of the great pleasure, which his recent election to succeed another distinguished educationist, Dr. Radhakrishnan, as President of the Indian Republic has given to his many friends and admirers in Britain.

I propose to confine myself to what he has done for Education both inside and outside India, for although as the trusted friend of Mahatma Gandhi he no doubt exerted considerable influence behind the scenes in the political sphere prior to Independence, his official posts were practically all in the education field, until he made his formal entry into the political arena as Governor of Bihar from 1957 to 1962 and then as Vice-President of India from 1962 to 1967. Even so I cannot do justice in the space available to all his educational achievements. I shall, therefore, further restrict myself as far as possible to those, where I came into personal contact with him and learned to appreciate his wide scholarship, patriotism and vision

Our first meeting was nearly thirty years ago, soon after I came out to India as Educational Commissioner in 1938. The previous year had seen the appearance of one of the most important documents in the history of Indian education. This was the Report of the Wardha Committee. The setting-up of this committee was the outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's desire to do something for that section of the Indian people, which had the first claim on his interest and sympathy, the Indian

peasant. He very wisely chose Dr. Zakir Husain to preside over it ; and although I have no definite knowledge as to what terms of reference, written or unwritten, were provided by the Mahatma, except perhaps on the economic issue, I have every reason to believe that the dynamic scheme, which the Committee produced, was largely due to the guidance and inspiration of its Chairman. The type of education, which it prescribes, was called Basic, the underlying principle being to learn by activity or in other words to make a local craft or crafts the focal point in the curriculum, with which the other essential subjects were to be correlated as far as possible. Basic Education is still the official policy, but whether the way in which the scheme is now being implemented in some parts of India really carries out the intentions of the Wardha Committee is a matter about which I shall hope to say a word or two later on, if space permits.

At the time when Dr. Zakir Husain was invited by the Mahatma to undertake this important task, he was Director of the Jamia Millia just outside Delhi, and it was there that I first met him personally. Although it had other objectives, the Jamia Millia was primarily an institution for the training of teachers, and from 1937 onwards naturally of Basic teachers. Another institution with the same objective, over which Dr. Zakir Husain presided for a number of years, was the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, which had its headquarters at Sevagram in close proximity to the Mahatma's ashram. During the next two or three years the Central Advisory Board of Education, an official body, of which I was a member, appointed two committees to examine the Wardha Scheme, and we were fortunate enough to have the help of Dr. Zakir Husain. The Committees and subsequently the Board itself found themselves in full agreement with the educational proposals set out in the Scheme but were not satisfied that it could be self-supporting. This again is a matter about which I may be able to say something later on.

My first real opportunity of getting to know Dr. Zakir Husain personally was when we were both members of the Indian delegation to the conference in London in 1945, at which UNESCO was constituted. The other members were Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Amarnath Jha, then Vice-Chancellor

of Allahabad University and Mr. (Now Dr.) K. G. Saiyidain. When I submitted the list to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, he approved it and then added in his laconic way : "See that they have a good time". I am afraid that the first part of our trip was anything but a good time for any of us. On the last day's flight from Malta we ran into same very bad weather over France with the result that we were late in reaching Southampton and still later in arriving at the Air Terminal in London. We then discovered that owing to some misunderstanding in the High Commissioner's office the accommodation provided for us fell very far short of what an official delegation had the right to expect. Fortunately Rajkumri was rescued by friends, Dr. Jha, who was already in London, had wisely made his own arrangements and I was on my home ground. I went with Dr. Zakir Husain and Mr. Saiyidain to the very inadequate provision, which had been made for them in North London. By then it was too late to do anything and I have always felt very grateful to them for not having held me responsible for the way in which things had turned out. Things were put right next day and thereafter all went well. The Indian members soon made their mark at the conference and Rajkumari was unanimously elected a Vice-President. Neither Dr. Zakir Husain nor Dr. Jha were able to attend the first full meeting of UNESCO in Paris the following year and their places were taken by Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Homi Bhabha, whose recent tragic death has robbed both India and the world of an outstanding scientist. Once more the Indian members distinguished themselves and Dr. Radhakrishnan was elected to the Executive Board. Dr. Zakir Husain maintained his interest in the work of UNESCO and was himself a member of the Executive Board from 1958 to 1960. India has every right to be proud of what it has done to promote the objects of UNESCO both at the headquarters in Paris and in what may be described as the field-work, which it has undertaken in many parts of the world, particularly in the so-called under-developed countries.

I left India in 1952 and did not meet Dr. Zakir Husain again until I went out there under the auspices of the Colombo Plan nearly ten years later, by which time he had become Governor of Bihar but I had heard a lot from my friends in India of the work which he had done in the university field

as Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University and a member of the University Grants Commission as well as in connection with international organisations concerned with the welfare of students. Now after five years as Governor of Bihar and five years as Vice-President of India he has been chosen to guide his great country through what may well be extremely critical years. Those, who have had the privilege of working with him, will, I am sure, feel that there could not have been a better choice. In a recent letter an Indian friend of mine, who has no connection with politics or public affairs, wrote in reference to his election as President, "It is good to have a real gentleman at the head of our State".

In conclusion may I revert for a moment to what I still think could among the many things, which he has done for Indian education, be Dr. Zakir Husain's enduring memorial? I mean Basic Education, as set out in the Wardha Scheme and I use the word "could" advisedly, because from what I saw when I was last in India and from what I have read in recent reports like that of the Education Commission, I cannot help feeling that what is called Basic Education to-day in some parts of India falls far short of what was contemplated by the Wardha Committee in 1937.

There were two aspects of the original Scheme, which in my opinion were open to question. The first was whether in any circumstances the cost of it could be met from the sale of articles made by the children, and the second was how to link it up with the higher stages of education. The answer to the first is that Gandhi was anxious to propound a plan, the carrying out of which would not be dependent on grants from official sources. I am doubtful myself whether, particularly in need of the not illiberal pay proposed for teachers in Basic schools, even the best of them could be self-supporting. With regard to the second point Gandhi himself told me that his object was to do something for village children, who would for the most part leave school at fourteen and that he was content to leave it to the "experts" to link up his scheme with the higher branches of education. This, with the aid of Dr. Zakir Husain, the Central Advisory Board of Education proceeded to do. What, however, concerns me more—and from the few words, which I had with Dr. Zakir Husain about this the last

time I met him, I believe he shares my concern—is whether Basic Education is being given a fair trial in some parts of India to-day. Anyone, who has taught small children, will appreciate the fact that a craft-centred curriculum calls for the high level of teaching technique. This was made abundantly clear in the Wardha Scheme. The minimum qualifications for a Basic teacher were laid down as matriculation or its equivalent followed by at least two years professional training. To-day very few teachers in so-called Basic Schools have the prescribed academic background, and in most cases their training in the Basic system has been limited to six months or even less. A recent official report admits that the Basic School of to-day do not seem to differ much from schools of the older type, and the serious wastage, which still persists, may seem to imply that parents are not satisfied that their children are getting that benefit from their schooling, which the Wardha Scheme was designed to supply. There are, of course, other reasons for this wastage and it is only fair to recognise the urgent demand in a new State like India to spread mass education as quickly as possible.

The many duties, that devolve on the President of a great country like India in these difficult days, make it unlikely that Dr. Zakir Husain will be able to devote as much time to the cause of education as he has done in the past, but all those, who have this great cause at heart, will be glad to know that he now has at his side in the person of Dr. Triguna Sen, the new Minister of Education at the Centre, a man with the wisdom, experience and drive to guide future developments along the right lines.

If the personal regard and affection of numerous friends can be of any practical support to a man with a great task in front of him, then I think that few people can be more fortunate than Dr. Zakir Husain.

THE REGNAL TITLES OF THE FIRST ABBASID CALIPHS

BERNARD LEWIS

The Abbasids, after coming to power, introduced many changes into the titulature and ceremonies of the Islamic Caliphate. One of the earliest of these was the practice whereby a member of the dynasty, on his accession as Caliph or designation as heir, adopted a special personal title or epithet, by which he was thereafter known.[1] From the eighth Caliph, *al-Mu'taṣim billāh*, onwards, these regnal titles are all in a standard form; though commonly abbreviated to the first word only, they consist of an adjectival phrase, qualifying the holder and formulating a relationship to God, with Whose name the formula ends—as for example *al-Mutawakkil* [*'alā 'llāh*], 'placing his reliance on God', *al-Musta 'in* [*bi'llāh*], 'seeking for help from God', etc. The titles of the first eight Caliphs do not conform to this pattern, and show greater variation in both form and significance.

Many of the innovations of the Abbasids can be explained by reference to pre-Islamic practice, especially in Persia; others may be seen as developments from the usage of their Islamic predecessors. Neither of these methods of explanation throws any light on the distinctive Abbasid practice of personal regnal titles. No such titles were ever adopted by the patriarchal or Umayyad Caliphs, nor does the protocol of either the Sasanid or the Byzantine court offer any recognizable antecedents. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the origins of this new practice, adopted so soon after the Abbasid accession to power.

Van Vloten, in his pioneer work on the origins of the Abbasid movement, drew attention to the importance of messianic beliefs as a motive force in this and other risings against the Umayyads, and showed how the Abbasids deliberately adapted some of their slogans and emblems in order to

comply with the prophecies which were current at the time.[3] In medieval Islam as inmedieval Christendom, the coming of a divinely guided leader who would overthrow tyranny and 'fill the world with justice'[3] was no vague dream of a remote future, but a firm and specific promise, due for certain and imminent fulfilment. The prophecies which expressed and defined these expectations—the Sibylline and Johannine books in Christendom, the books of *jafr* and *malāhim* in Islam, and the like[4]—were widely known, believed, and exploited, and for this reason often had a direct influence on political developments, affecting the attitudes of subjects, the claims of rulers, the appeals of leaders, and even the judgments of historians. "In almost every new monarch", says Professor Norman Cohn, speaking of medieval Europe, "his subjects tried to see that Last Emperor who was to preside over the Golden Age, while chroniclers bestowed on him the conventional messianic epithets, *rex justus* or may be David. When each time experience brought the inevitable disillusionment people merely imagined the glorious consummation postponed to the next reign and, if they possibly could, regarded the reigning monarch as a 'precursor' ...... And there was never any lack of monarchs to appeal, with varying degrees of sincerity or cynicism, to these persistent hopes."[5] Such appeals did not of course come only from monarchs; there were also many popular religious and other rebel leaders who presented themselves as the divinely appointed saviours foretold in the prophecies.[6] Such leaders usually took care to accommodate themselves to the signs and portents that heralded the coming of the messianic age, and adopted titles and epithets appropriate to their claims.

Islamic history offers many parallels to the millenarian movements in Christendom, so well described by Professor Cohn. The earliest attested messianic claims are those put forward by the followers of the rebel Mukhtār, in Umayyad times.[7] Thereafter there is a long line of messianic aspirants, continuing to the famous Mahdi of the Sudan and even, albeit in somewhat altered forms, to our own time.[8] One of the most famous of these movements in the Middle Ages was that which culminated in the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate; it is significant that the Fatimids, despite their Ismā'īlī faith and their bitterly anti-Abbasid attitude, followed the Abbasid practice of adopting regnal titles—and that the

titles of the first two Caliphs were al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im,[9] both unmistakably messianic in purport.

What then of the Abbasids themselves, who originated the practice, and whose connexion with messianic claims and apocalyptic expectations has been clearly demonstrated?[10] The titles of the third and fourth Caliphs, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, are indeed of a familiar messianic pattern; the circumstances in which al-Mahdī was given this name, on his appointment as heir, are strongly suggestive of an appeal for popular support based on messianic expectations, as are some of his subsequent actions.[11] But if the use of such titles is part of an attempt by the Abbasids to present their advent as the fulfilment of messianic prophecies, one would expect this attempt to go back to the beginnings of the Abbasid mission, and not to make its appearance with the third reign. The first militant leader of the Abbasid house, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad ...... ibn al-'Abbās, the patron of Abū Salama and Abū Muslim, was indeed known to his followers as Ibrāhīm al-Imām. But he died before the advent of the dynasty, and his two brothers, who reigned as the first and second Abbasid Caliphs, are known to history by the regnal titles of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. Neither of these, at first sight, fits into the religious and messianic pattern of such names as al-Imām and al-Mahdī, and their appearance between them suggests a surprising discontinuity of practice. The difficulty, however, is more apparent than real.

The title al-Saffāḥ can soon be set aside. This name, which has been variously explained as meaning 'the generous' and 'the bloodthirsty',[12] was almost certainly not used as regnal title by the Caliph himself; it was assigned to him by later historians, whose sense of order and propriety required that the first Abbasid, like all his successors, should have a regnal title of some sort.[13] The earlier historians, such as Jahshiyārī, Tabarī, Ya'qūbī and Dīnawarī, commonly refer to the first Abbasid Caliph by his *kunya*, Abu'l-'Abbās; Mas'ūdī appears to have been the first to give him the regnal title of al-Saffāḥ, and he was followed in this by later historians.[14] The name al-Saffāḥ was probably taken from the Caliph's famous and frequently quoted address in Kūfa in 132/750, in which he declares' *anā al-saffāḥ al-mubīḥ wa'l-thā'ir al-mubīr'*.[15] There

may also have been some confusion, by historians, between the Caliph and his uncle ʿAbdallah b. ʿAlī, who, according to some sources, was known as al-Saffāḥ because of his brutal repression of the Umayyads in Syria.[16] The Caliph himself used no formal regnal title, but appears to have been given various epithets by his followers. Dīnawarī frequently refers to him as al-Imām;[17] Masʿūdī says that he was first called al-Mahdī.[18] Hilāl al-Ṣābi', a well-informed authority on court matters, remarks that there was some uncertainty about his *laqab*, and that he was variously known as al-Qā'im, al-Muhtadī, and al-Murtaḍā, until the *laqab* al-Saffāḥ prevailed.[19] The religious and messianic character of these names is clear.

There remains the name of al-Manṣūr, the second and greatest of the Abbasid Caliphs, and in many ways the true founder of the Abbasid Empire. There is no doubt about his adoption and use of this name as regnal title; the name itself, usually translated the Victorious, seems to accord well with the imperial role that he played. Granted that the last of the Abbasid pretenders and the first of the Abbasid Caliphs used messianic title, does not the long reign of al-Manṣūr constitute an inexplicable gap before the reappearance of messianic title with al-Mahdī and al-Hādī ?

It does not. In the first place, the name al-Manṣūr does not, strictly, mean victorious. It is a passive participle, meaning 'the one who is aided [by God to win victory]', and is thus of the same pattern, both grammatically and theologically, as the familiar al-Mahdī—'the one who is guided [by God on the right path]'. The use of the title al-Manṣūr with a messianic connotation is amply attested in the Arabic sources, and can be traced well back into pre-Abbasid times. Its significance is explained in an important passage in the *Shams al-ʿulūm* of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 573/1117), the famous writer on the traditions and legends of Southern Arabia. Al-Manṣūr, he says, is an epithet (*laqab*) given to a messianic figure who is awaited (*qā'im muntaẓar*) by many people. This is the Mahdī, whom every group claim as one of their own. Thus for the Jews he is the Messiah of the house of David, for the Christians the son of Maryam, for the Ṣābi'ans a descendant of Hermes the Greek, for the

Magians a descendant of Bahram Gur, who will restore the old Persian faith. The Shi'ites have a number of versions, each set claiming that their *imām* is the Mahdī. The Himyarites said, in their traditions taken from their learned men, that he was a man of Ḥimyar, a descendant of the Sabaeans on both sides, who would restore the kingdom to Ḥimyar with justice *(bi'l-'adl)*.[20] The same tradition is alluded to in another work from Southern Arabia, the *Iklīl* of Ibn al-Hā'ik al-Hamdānī (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries), according to which Mount Dāmigh was said to have been the mountain of al-Manṣūr, that is, the Manṣūr of Ḥimyar.[21] Both these works are late, but refer to earlier material, including verses attributed to the Tubba' As'ad and recorded by 'Ubayd b. Sharya al-Jurhumī. Though these sources are obviously legendary, the traditions and sayings ascribed to them are very ancient. They depict the Manṣūr as a messianic figure, variously known as Manṣūr Ḥimyar, Manṣūr al-Yaman, and al-Qaḥṭānī, who would restore the lost glory of the South.[22]

With the help of these and similar passages in the literature on Southern Arabian legends and antiquities, it is possible to explain some otherwise puzzling allusions in the accounts, given by early historians, of revolts against the Umayyads. During the revolt of Mukhtār in Kūfa in 66/685-6, the war-cry of his followers, we are told, was *yā Manṣūr amit!*—O Manṣūr, kill.[23] The messianic character of Mukhtār's movement, and the strong Yemeni element among his supporters, are well known.[24] This slogan is an obvious appeal to Southern particularism, and to the messianic aspiration in which it found expression. In 81/700 another rebel, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ash'ath, is said to have announced himself as the Qaḥṭānī awaited by the Yemenites to restore their power; the poetess Bint Sahm called him al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[25] In 121/739, when the Shī'a appealed to Zayd b. 'Alī to rise in revolt, they said: 'We desire that you be the Manṣūr, and that this be the time in which the Umayyads perish.'[26] Most striking of all is the account of the beginnings, in Ramaḍān 129/June 747, of the final revolt, which culminated in the overthrow of the Umayyads and the establishment of the Abbasids. When the first followers of Abū Muslim in Khurasān declared themselves, they did so by raising the black flags and by shouting '*yā Muḥammad, yā Manṣūr*.'[27]

The association of these two acts, together with the evidence of earlier revolts on the one hand, and of South Arabian tradition on the other, shows quite conclusively that the adoption of the title al-Manṣūr by the second Abbasid Caliph represented an appeal to messianic aspirations, and that this title was of the same character as those used by his two predecessors and his two successors. The specifically Southern Arabian connotation of this title raises further interesting questions—concerning the nature of Abbasid support, and the extent to which the Abbasid *Da'wa*, and other religious opposition movements before it, appealed directly to southern resentments against the Northern tribe.

The messianic implications of the title al-Manṣūr did not disappear with its adoption by the second Abbasid Caliph. An undated silver dirham of the late 2nd or early 3rd/early 9th century, struck by an unknown rebel, bears the inscription *Yā ḥumd ṣallā'llahu 'alayhi Muḥammad alayhi'l-salām mimmā amara bihi al-Mahdī al-ḥaqq amīr al-mu'minīn ya Manṣūr.*[28] The association of the titles Mahdī and Manṣūr, with a claim to the Caliphate, speaks for itself. At a later date, the title was still used by the Ismā'īlīs. The *dā'ī* Ibn Ḥawshab, sent to the Yemen in ca. 268/881-2, adopted the title Manṣūr al-Yaman, no doubt to appeal to local sentiment,[29] and in 334/945 the third Fatimid Caliph in North Africa after al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im succeeded to the Caliphate with the title al-Manṣūr. Thereafter the name seems to have lost its special significance, and was adopted by many Muslim rulers.

The first five leaders of the Abbasid cause, one pretender and four Caliphs, all have titles of messianic import. Their claim to leadership, as the kin of the Prophet, *ahl al-bayt*, was couched in religious terms: their appeal was to deep-rooted anxieties and passions, to the burning belief, expressed in and encouraged by popular prophecies, in the imminent coming of a rightful leader who would end tyranny and inaugurate a new age of justice and plenty. By conforming to the signs and portents of the approaching golden age, and adopting the titles of the divinely appointed ruler who, in God's good time, would lead mankind into it, they tried to persuade men that their advent was indeed the fulfilment of the prophecies, the final

achievement of God's purpose on earth. In this way they sought to gain, first, support for their revolutionary attempt to seize power, and then, after the victory, consent to their legitimate retention of the power they had seized. Four times[30] the millennium was deferred to the next reign—to a new just ruler, with a new messianic title, until the process was no longer feasible or even necessary. The new imperial dynasty was firmly in control; the revolutionary leaders were safely dead; the charisma, in Max Weber's phrase, was routinized. The Abbasids, like other successful revolutionaries before and after them, chose the path of orthodoxy and empire. Some of their disappointed followers turned away, to fresh illusions and disillusionments; others found their place, as best they could, in the new imperial order. Of the revolutionary and messianic origins of the Abbasid movement, only the outward forms remained. The radical beliefs gave way to pious conformity ; the black emblems of revolution became a dynastic livery ; the messianic war-cries became part of the style and titles of imperial protocol.

NOTES

(1) Sometimes, on his accession, the new Caliph abandons the title which he used as heir apparent, and adopts a new one Given the archaising tendency found in many Muslim historians, it is not surprising that some of them should have ascribed the practice of adopting regnal titles to the Umayyads and even to the patriarchal Caliphs. some even adduce lists of Umayyad titles, usually rather unflattering. These are quite fictitious, as was realized by some of the classical Muslim historians (e.g. Mas'ūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, Cairo 1354/1938, 289-90 ; French translation by Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l' avertissement et de la revision*, Paris 1897, 431-3; Khawārizmi, *Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, Cairo n.d., 66. On the whole question see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm Dār al Khilāfa*, ed Mikhā'il 'Awād, Baghdad 1964, 128 ff. , Qalqashandi, *Ma'āthir al-ināfa fī ma'ālim al-khilāfa*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj, i, Kuwait 1964, 20 ff. , idem, *Ṣubh al-a'shā*, v, Cairo 1333/1915, 477 ff. ; E Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 483-8; A. Abel, 'Le Khalife, présence sacrée', in *Studia Islamica*, vii (1957), 29-45, especially 39 f

(2) G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden, 1890, especially 132-40 ; idem, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat*

des Omayades, Amsterdam 1894, 54 ff.; idem, 'Zur Abbasidengeschichte', in *ZDMG*, lii (1898), 213-26. Cf. I. Goldziher. *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, Halle 1890, 125-30.

(3) One of the best-known hadiths of messianic content. See for example Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-ghâba*, v, Cairo 1280, 155.

(4) On these writings see D. B. MacDonald, 'Malâḥim', in *Enc. Islam*, 1st ed., and T. Fahd, 'Djafr', in *Enc. Islam*, 2nd ed., where further references are given. Other studies include A. Abel, 'Changements politiques et littérature eschatologique dans le monde musulman', in *Studia Islamica*, ii (1954), 23-43; idem, 'L'Apocalypse de Bahira et la notion islamique du Mahdi', in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, iii (1935), 1-12; B. Lewis, 'An apocalyptic vision of Islamic history,' in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 308-38; J. Bignami-Odier and G. Levi Della Vida, 'Une version latine de l'apocalypse syro-arabe de Serge-Bahira', in *Melanges d'Archeologie et d'histoire*, Ecole francaise de Rome, 1950, 125-48.

(5) N. Cohn, *The pursuit of the millennium*, London 1957, 20.

(6) Cohn 21 ff, and passim

(7) On the revolt of Mukhtār see now K.A. Fariq, 'The story of an Arab diplomat', in *Studies in Islam*, iii (1966), 53-80, 119-42; 227-41; iv (1967), 50-59, earlier work in G. Levi Della Vida, 'Mukhtār', in *Enc. Islam*, 1st ed.

(8) On the history of Muslim messianism see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i, Bonn-Leipzig 1923, 145-81; D. B. MacDonald, 'al-Mahdi', in *Enc. Islam*, 1st ed.; D. S. Margoliouth, 'Mahdi', in *Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, and, including more recent developments, E. Sarkisyanz, *Russland und der Messianismus des Orients*, Tubingen 1955, 223-96

(9) On the use of the term *Qā'im* among the Ismā'ilis, see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942, 50 ff and index.

(10) For a recent survey of the problems and literature, see Claude Cahen, 'Points de vue sur la "Révolution 'abbāside",' in *Revue Historique*, fasc. 468 (1963), 295-338 See further 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dūri, 'Ḍaw' jadid 'alā'l-da'wa al-'Abbāsiyya', in *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb* (Baghdad), 1960, 64-82; B. Lewis, 'Abbāsids', 'Alids', and 'Hāshimiyya', in *Enc. Islam*, 2nd ed.

(11) G. van Vloten, 'Zur Abbasidengeschichte', 220-2. The story of how the poet Muṭi'b. Iyās invented a hadith showing Mahdi

to be the predestined heir to the Caliphate (*K. al Aghānī*, Būlāq edition, xii, 85) is regarded by Prof. G. van Grunebaum as doubtful: 'Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age', in *Orientalia*, xvii (1948), 171. A verse ascribed to the contemporary post Abū Dulāma refers to al-Manṣūr himself as the Mahdi Ibn Qutayba, Al-Ma'ārif, 420; idem, 'Uyūn al-akhbar, i, 26; Van Vloten, Opkomst, 66.

(12) See H. F. Amedroz, 'On the meaning of the Laqab 'al-Saffāḥ' as applied to the first Abbasid Caliph', in *JRAS*, (1907), 660-3.

(13) Dūri, *Al-'Aṣr al-'Abbāsī al-awwal*, Beghdad 1363/1945, 65-6; Tyan, *Institutions*, 489, n.2.

(14) Dūri, loc. cit, where references are given.

(15) Tabari, iii, 30. Variant versions of the Kūfa address appear in a number of other sources.

(16) Dūri, loc. cit., citing Ya'qūbi and the *K al-Imāma wa'l-Siyāsa* attributed to Ibn Qutayba.

(17) *Al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1330, 351 ff; Dūri 65.

(18) Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, 292; French translation, 434-5; Van Vloten, *Recherches . . .*, 68.

(19) *Rusūm*, 129; repeated by Qalqashandi in Ṣubḥ, v, 477 and *Inâfa*, i, 170.

(20) *Die auf Sudarabien bezuglichen Angaben Naswāns im Śams al-'Ulūm*, ed, 'Azimuddin Aḥmad, Gibb Memorial Series, xxiv, London-Leiden 1916, 103, Part of the passage in question was cited by B.H Müller in his 'Die Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens nach dem Iklal des Hamdini', in *Wiener Akad Sitzungsberichte*, phil. hist. kl., xciv-xcvii (1879-81), 407-8, n.6

(21) Ed. and German translation by Müller, 'Die Burgen und Schlosser', 367-8 and 407; ed. Anastās al-Karmali, Baghdad 1931, 71-2; abridged English translātion, Nabih Amin Faris, *The antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton 1938, 41.

(22) Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. E. Quatremére, ii, 147 and 158-9; English translation F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, ii, 164 and 179; Muṭahhar b. Tāhir al-Maqdisi, *K. al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. and French translation C. Huart, ii, Paris 1899, 183-4; trans. 164; I. Goldziher, 'Pinehas—Manṣūr', in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902), 411-2; A. Marmorstein, 'Les signes du Messie', in *REJ*, lii (1906), 176-86, Snouck Hurgronje, 156.

(23) Tabari, ii, 616; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, ed. S.D.F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936, 225; cf. G.C. Miles, 'Al-Mahdi al-ḥaqq, amir al-mu'minin', in *Revue Numismatique*, 6e series, vii (1965), 336,

and Fariq, 78. Mr. M. Sharon points out to me that the same phrase occurs in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, *K. al-Futūḥ*, Ms. Ahmed III 2956, Topkapi Sarayı, Istanbul, ii, 2a.

(24) See for example J. Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam (Abhandlungen der Kgl. Ges der Wiss. Gottingen, phil. hist. kl.*, N. S v, 2), Berlin 1901, 90 f; idem, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, trans. Margaret Graham Weir, Calcutta 1927, 234, 245. On the connexions between the movement of Mukhtār and the later pro-Abbasid movement, see Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 504-5; S. Moscati, 'Il testamento di Abū Hāsim', in *RSO*, xxvii (1952), 44-6 On the importance of the South Arabian element in early Shi'ism, see W. Montgomery Watt, 'Sh'ism under the Umayyads', in *JRAS*, (1960), 158 72

(25) Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh* 272; French translation 407; Maqdisi, *Bad'*, ii, 184; [Balādhūri], *Anonyme arabische Chronik Band XI*, ed W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald 1883, 334, citing some 'prophetic' verses; Van Vloten, *Recherches* , 61; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 245 ff. Farazdaq sneers at the Yemenites of Kūfa for following both Mukatār and Ibn Ash'ath (cit Wellhausen, 234, n.1). A work by Abū Mikhnaf 'on the tradition *yā Ḥimyara* and the death of Ibn Ash'ath' is mentioned in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, 93.

(26) Tabari, ii, 1676. Van Vloten, *Opkomst*, 61.

(27) Tabari, ii, 1972; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vi, 61; Van Vloten, *Opkomst*, 61. On the eschatological and revolutionary significance of the black emblems in the Abbasid and some earlier risings, see Van Vloten *Opkomst*, 132 ff , *Recherches* , 63 ff ; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom* 533-4. See especially Tabari, ii, 1929 f.

(28) G. C. Miles, 'Al-Mahdi al-ḥaqq', 329-30, 333-6, 339-40

(29) M.J. de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Carmathes* , 2nd ed, Leiden 1886, 73 ; I. Friedlander, 'The heterodoxies of the Shiites', in *JAOS*, xxix (1908), 109 , B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismā'ilism*, Cambridge 1940, 95

(30) The name al-Hādi (see G. van Vloten, 'Zur Abbasidengeschichte', 223-4) seems to mark the transition from messianic to purely regnal titles If Dr. Miles is right in this reading and interpretation of an undated silver dirham (op. cit. 330 and 337-8), it is possible that even the name al-Rashid may have retained some broader religious implications.

THE GREEK AND LATIN DATA ABOUT INDIA : SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

LUDO ROCHER

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF BRUSSELS AND PENNSYLVANIA

The following pages intend to summarize a number of general considerations made by the author in the margin of a lecture course in the University of Brussels. While conducting a combind class of Greek and Latin, he availed himself of the opportunity to examine some of the numerous data collected by the Ancient authors about the Indian world.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, we shall first indicate what this paper does not pretend to offer. First it is beyond the scope of this article to bring a systematic survey of the picture of India as drawn by the classic authors. We do not intend to collect systematically the data about Indian geography, history, religion, society, culture, etc. These data are, no doubt, important, so important that they may shed light on a number of aspects of Ancient India about which the Indian sources leave us uninformed. However, excellent surveys of this kind have been produced before—e.g., in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopadie* under the catchwords *India*, etc.—, and there is no reason to repeat them here.

In the second place, we shall also abstain from elaborating on the controversial theme whether the Mediterranean and Indian worlds directly influenced each other or not. Thus we shall not raise the question whether or not Ancient Indian theatre was influenced by Greek drama ; and we shall not

discuss the point whether it is true that Indian thinking borrowed from Christianity. Inversely, no mention will be made of the problem whether or not Pythagoras, the gnostics or the neo-Platonic thinkers derived any of their ideas from Indian philosophy. Here, too, we do not want to belittle the importance of the problems ; but we do not feel qualified to produce any new evidence in either direction.

The Central theme of the present article will be the strange mixture, all over Greek and Latin texts dealing with India, of what Wecker in his article *India* of the above mentioned *Realenzyklopadie* called "Dinchtung und Wahrheit". While reading through these texts we, too, have been struck by this mixture of truth and fantasy which, in a number of cases, assumes unexpected dimensions.

There are moments when one is surprised about the high degree of accuracy of the texts ; but there are other moments, often with the same author and within the same section of the text, when one is equally astonished to find data which are unquestionably erroneous and born of the author's—or somebody else's—imagination.

Faced with this situation we should like to raise the question of its origin and its limitations. We are convinced that there are a number of passages from which we are able to infer the very reasons why the Greek and Latin data about India were both so accurate and so unreliable

The fact itself that the Greek and Latin authors have preserved a great number of correct data about India should not surprise us. We should not lose sight of the historic circumstance that the oldest Western writer about India we know of actually visited part of the country. That means that, from Scylax of Caryanda onward, the Mediterranean world possessed a number of data collected by a regular eye-witness.

It is true that the same situation did not exist for all Greek and Latin authors who dared to write about India. But this does not mean that Scylax was an isolated case ; on the contrary, the fact that Megasthenes, perhaps the most important of all, lived in India for some time as an ambassador gave

him at least the opportunity of learning to know for himself the country, its government, its capital, and its people.

If it is, thus, only natural that the Ancient texts should have preserved certain accurate data, this should not prevent us from admiring the degree up to which this accuracy has been carried on a number of occasions. The Ancient travellers or those who handed down their information repeatedly, showed that they had been excellent observers of situations Indian.

The Greeks have, of course, been struck by the Indian monsoon, i.e. by heavy rains occurring not in winter, but in summer. Arrian (8. 6. 4-5), quoting Megasthenes says :

> "In Summer there is rain through India ; especially on the mountains,
> Parapamisus and Hemodus and the Imaus, and from them the rivers run great and turbulent. The plains of India also receive rain in Summer, and much part of them becomes swamp " (p. 323)*

Far more remarkable is the fact that the Greeks, who only knew northern India, were able to distinguish correctly between the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian races. Arrian (8. 6. 9), probably again based upon Megasthenes, has the following interesting passage :

> "The southern Indians resemble the Ethiopians a good deal, and are black of countenance, and their hair black also, only they are not as snub-nosed or so woolly-haired as the Ethiopians ; but the northern Indians are most like the Egyptians in appearance." (p. 323-325)

We shall come back to the Ancients' descriptions of the caste system below. At the moment we shall merely quote two

*Unless otherwise indicated ("literally", "translation ours"), for the sake of uniformity all translations have been borrowed from various volumes of "The Loeb Classical Library" ; the page numbers after the quotations are those of the relevant volumes in this series.

examples to show that some of its basic elements were very well understood by the classical authors. Speaking about the highest class, Arrian (8. 11. 1-2) says :

> "Those called the wise men are less in number than the rest, but chiefest in honour and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store ; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people of India." (p. 335-337)

The clear separation of the castes is even more clearly expressed when Arrian (8. 11. 10) comes to discuss the farmers :

> "They have no use for warlike arms or warlike deeds, but they till the land ; . . . and if there is internal war among the Indians, they may not touch these workers, and not even devastate the land itself ; but same are making war and slaying all comers, and others close by are peacefully ploughing or gathering the fruits or shaking down apples or harvesting " (p. 339)

And Arrian's description of the caste system ends with the following general remark (8. 12. 8) :

> "To marry out of any class is unlawful—as, for instance, into the farmer class from the artisans, or the other way, nor must the same man practise two pursuits; nor change from one class into another, as to turn farmer from shepherd, or shepherd from artisan." (p. 341)

A last example concerns Megasthenes' references to a number of administrative posts, as, for instance, in the following passage from Arrian (8. 12. 5-7):

> "The sixth class of Indians are those called overlookers. They oversee everything that goes on in the country or in the cities; and this they report to the King, where the

> Indians are governed by kings, or to the authorities, where they are independent. To these it is illegal to make any false report ; nor was any Indian even accused of such falsification. The seventh class is those who deliberate about the community together with the King, or, in such cities as are self-governing, with the authorities. In number this class is small, but in wisdom and uprightness it bears the palm from all others; from this class are selected their governors, district governors, and deputies, custodians of the treasures, officers of army and navy, financial officers, and overseers of agricultural works." (p. 341)

For a long time scholars did not attach much importance to these data. But when they discovered Kautilya's Arthaśāstra about the beginning of this century, not only similar administrative positions were described in the Indian source, but the Indian source seemed to actually confirm many of the Greek authors' data. As a result, Megasthenes' text has been looked at from a completely different angle, and his data have been recognized as valuable historic evidence which, combined with the data from the Arthaśāstra, should help us reconstruct the administrative system of the Maurya dynasty. Without going into detail about the vexed problem of the identity of the writer called Kautilya, we may say that it is very well possible that both Megasthenes and Kautilya lived at, and consequently gave descriptions of, the same environment at a very short interval.

So far our task was a relatively easy one we merely had to state the fact that a number of data about India collected by the Greek and Roman authors were accurate. Moreover, it was good to see that this accuracy was carried to a remarkably high degree on a number of occasions. However, when we now turn to the erroneous data about India, our task becomes much more difficult: we shall have to examine the various types of errors and, if possible, try to detect their origin.

To come to a real understanding of a first class of erroneous information about India we must stress the fundamental but often neglected fact that the Ancient Greek and Roman visitors to India come to the country without the slightest preliminary initiation. Westerners who visit India today have, if they desire

so, at their disposal a whole series of books which may help them prepare their arrival and their stay in India. The Ancient traveller did not possess any of these tools. The only instruments which he had at his disposal at the time of his arrival were his two eyes and faculties of perception. As said above, he has very often made excellent use of these instruments.

However, in a great majority of cases these instruments proved to be inadequate. Needless to say, whenever the Ancient travellers observed certain Indian phenomena, they also tried to understand them. And whenever this understanding could not be derived immediately from the facts observed, they tried to explain and to rationalize. The fact is that many phenomena observed in India were radically different from the ones they were accustomed to in their own countries. It is this situation which is responsible for a first type of erroneous information about India: we are faced with correctly observed phenomena, but the more these phenomena are foreign, the more the explanations given for them are fantastic.

An example of this type of erroneous data occurs with Herodotus (3. 104). It had been correctly observed that many Hindus bathe in the morning, but the explanation of this fact which was unknown in the Greek world is undoubtedly absurd

> "Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time." (p. 131)

Before passing on to the second type of erroneous data a few words should be added about a special case of the first type. There are indeed a number of instances where the erroneous explanations of correctly observed facts are not mere generalizations generally, but rationalizations based upon motives drawn from the Western world. It is a well known fact that this specfic kind of erroneous explanation became extremely wide spread at the end of the Ancient world. At that time a good many Western text about India—particularly about Indian wisdom—were pervaded by Western and especi-

ally Christian ideas. We shall not treat this point in detai here; it would require a separate article for itself. We shal restrict ourselves to a few more ancient examples.

Thus the early age of marriage for girls was explained agai nst the background of a story about Heracles. In connectioi with Heracles' only daughter, who is also known to othe authors such as Diodorus of Sicily (2. 39. 2), Arrian (8.9. 1-3 has this to say:

> "In this country where Heracles' daughter was queer the girls are marriageable at seven years, and the me do not live longer then forty years. About this there i a story among the Indians, that Heracles, to whom whe in mature years this daughter was born, realizing tha his own end was near, and knowing of no worthy husban to whom he might bestow his daughter, himself becam her husband when she was seven, so that Indian kings their children, were left behind. Heracles made he then marriageable, and hence all the royal race of Pandae arose, with the same privilege from Heracles." (p. 331)

Arrian does question this story and proposes a much mor acceptable explanation himself, but the fact remains that i some quarters at least a correctly observed fact was rationa lized with the aid of elements drawn from the Western world

In the same way Strabo (15. 1. 8) informs us that som Indian customs were explained through the interference of go Dionysus:

> "They say the Sydracae are descendants of Dionysus, jud ging from the vine in their country and from their costl processions, since the kings not only make their expedi tions out of their country in Bacchic fashion, but als accompany all other processions with a beating of drum and with flowered robes, a custom which is also preval ent among the rest of the Indians." (p. 11)

And although Strabo, too, following Eratosthenes, does no seem to believe these stories, he explicitly adds (15. 1. 7) tha "Megasthenes with a few others considers them trustworthy.'

After this first type of erroneous data we now come to a second type. Whereas in the previous case the error merely bore upon the authors' explanations of facts which had otherwise been correctly observed, in the present case the observations themselves have been incomplete, and, hence, the very descriptions of the facts are defective.

Here we shall refer to the descripitions of the caste system which, although uniformly going back to Megasthenes, occur with various authors Arrian (8. 11-12), for instance, reports as follows:

> "The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number than the rest, but chiefest in honour and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people of India. Then whenever anyone sacrifices privately, one of these wise men, acts as instructor of the sacrifice, since otherwise the sacrifice would not have proved acceptable to the gods These Indians also are alone expert in prophecy, and none, save one of the wisemen, is allowed to prophesy. And they prophesy about the seasons of the year, or of any impending public calamity; but they do not trouble to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because their prophesy does not condescend to smaller things, or because it is undignified for them to trouble about such things. And when one has thrice made an error in his prophesy, he does not suffer any harm, except that he must for ever hold his peace, and no one will ever persuade such a one to prophesy on whom this silence has been enjoined. These wise men spend thir time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and the marsh lands under great trees; their shade Nearchus computes to reach five plethra all round, and ten thousand men could take shade under one tree; so great are these trees They eat fruits in their season, and the bark of the trees; this is sweet and nutritious as much as are the

dates of the palm. Then next to these come the farmers, these being the most numerous class of Indians; they have no use for warlike arms or warlike deeds, but they till the land; and they pay the taxes to the kings and to the cities, such as are self-governing; and if there is internal war among the Indians, they may not touch these workers, and not even devastate the land itself; but some are making war and slaying all comers, and others close by are peacefully ploughing or gathering the fruits or shaking down apples or harvesting. The third class of Indians are the herdsmen, pasturers of sheep and cattle, and these dwell neither by cities nor in the villages. They are nomads and get their living on the hillsides, and they pay taxes from their animals; they hunt also birds and wild game in the country.

The fourth class is of artisans and shopkeepers; these are workers, and pay tribute from their works, save such as make weapons of war; these are paid by the community. In this class are the shipwrights and sailors, who navigate the rivers. The fifth class of Indians is the soldiers' class, next after the farmers in number; these have the greatest freedom and the most spirit. They practise military pursuits only. Their weapons others forge for them, and again others provide horses; others too serve in the camps, those who groom their horses and polish their weapons, guide the elephants, and keep in order and drive the chariots. They themselves, when there is need of war, go to war, but in time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from the community that they can easily from their pay support others." (p. 335-341)

The descriptions of the sixth and seventh classes have been quoted in extenso above; hence we shall not repeat them here but rather request the reader to compare the relevant passage there.

As said before, there can be no doubt that Megasthenes did recognize one very basic fact: the population of India was divided into a number of more or less isolated groups, each of which had its own specific occupation. Modern scholars have,

however, raised the question how the Greek author came to distinguish the erroneous number of *seven* castes. E. g., Wecker in the above mentioned article says: "Megasthenes distinguishes seven castes instead of the usual number four; why he does so is not clear."

Our answer to this question would be as follows. First, differently from modern scholars and modern visitors to India, Megasthenes did not have at his disposal the good number of excellent studies on the caste system we have today; nor did he even know of such texts as the Manusmṛti or any of its translations into Western languages As a result, it was not possible for him to be aware of the traditional fourfold subdivision of the *varṇas* into brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras. Moreover, any visitor to India knows that the said fourfold subdivision is not very apparent to the foreigner's eye. It is not so today, and it probably never was; from a very remote date onward the fourfold—theoretical—subdivision must have given way to a much more complex system of castes and sub-castes. In reality, Megasthenes must have correctly observed the existence within the population of a number of isolated sections but he did not know the theoretical background of the phenomenon, and he could hardly be expected to have come to the fourfold subdivison by mere observation. He simply listed all sections of the population which, as far as he could make out, acted and lived as isolated groups. By sheer coincidence he thus arrived at the number seven.

A third type of erroneous data about India again derives from another source. Already when dealing with the caste system we referred to the fact that the Ancient visitors did not know such texts as the Manusmṛti, we shall now go one step further in that direction.

The majority of the Ancient visitors to India who wrote their memoirs were either military officers, or political agents, or merchants. But for a few exceptions, especially at a much later stage, they were no real scholars whose main purpose was to seek contact with the representatives of India scholarship. As a result the Ancient visitors to India display the general characteristic, that they had practically no contact with and no access to Indian learning. Moreover, even if they had tried to

establish such contacts, we may assume that the brahmanic bearers of Indian learning would not have particularly welcomed their efforts to penetrate into an esoteric region which was to be reserved to caste Hindus.

This situation, which was also partly responsible for Megasthenes' lack of insight in the theoretical basis of the caste system equally explains several other erroneous judgements on the part of the Greek and Latin authors. Nothing could be more characteristic and less true than when Strabo (15 1. 34), reporting a steatement of Onesicritus, says that

> "they make no accurate study of the sciences except that of medicine, for they regard too much training in some of them as wickedness." (p. 61)

The fact that medicine is the only exception is another argument in favour of our thesis, medicine being the only branch of science which came out in the open and with which even foreigners were likely to have any contact, as is clear from a passage of Nearchus cited by Arrian (8. 15. 11-12) :

> "No Greek physicians have discovered a remedy against Indian snake-bite; but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were struck. And Nearchus adds that Alexander had gathered round him Indians very skilled in physic, and orders were sent round the camp that anybody bitten by a snake was to report at the royal pavilion. But these same men cured other diseases and illnesses also." (p. 351-353)

If the foreign visitors thus stayed away from the very important literature of Ancient India, it must be said on the contrary that they seem to have known at least some of the more popular type of literature, namely, the epics and the Purāṇas. We do not want to imply hereby that any of the Western travellers actually read the Mahābhārata or the Rāmāyaṇa; but we can very well imagine that their Indian hosts told them some of the stories with which they were so familiar themselves.

This too became the cause of a fourth type of misrepresentation in the works of the classical writers, namely, when they

report situations characteristic of the epics as if they were representative of Indian daily life. They undoubtedly lost sight of the distance existing between life as depicted in the epics and common practice when, with regard to marriage in India, they had this to say, as told by Arrian (8. 17.4):

> "Such girls as are marriageable their fathers bring out and allow anyone who proves victorious in wrestling or boxing or running or shows pre-eminence in any other manly pursuit to choose among them." (p. 357)

The type of marriage described here very strongly reminds us of *svayamvara* marriage which is so characteristic of epic literature.

Other data seem to be derived immediately from the Purāṇas. To quote first Arrian (8. 9. 9):

> "From Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted a hundred and fifty-three kings, over six thousand and forty-two years, and during this time thrice [movements were made] for liberty...this for three hundred years; the other for a hundred and twenty years." (p. 333)

Pliny (6. 59) has a slightly different account:

> "From the time of Father Liber to Alexander the Great 153 kings of India are counted in a period of 6451 years and three months." (383)

Modern scholars—e.g., P. Chantraine in his edition of Arrian —have said that "it is difficult to choose between the numbers quoted by Arrian and those cited by Pliny." In our opinion it is far less important to decide between Arrain's "over 6042 years" and Pliny's "6451 years and three months" than to recognize that we are faced here with the presentation as a historic fact of data apparently drawn from a Purāṇa which easily allows such minor variants.

Finally, within the first class of erroneous data about India there is a fifth type which is due to a mere language problem. We are very badly informed about the language or languages which served as means of communication between the Western

visitors and their Indian hosts. The only point we want to raise here concerns the fact that a number of errors in the Ancient Greek and Latin texts are due to the lack of a common language, i.e. to the fact that the information had to be passed on from one language into another, perhaps even through one or more intermediary stages.

In an article published some time ago—*Megasthenes on Indian Lawbooks* in: Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, 6, 1957, p. 125-128—we have pointed out a typical example of this type of error. Strabo (15. 1. 53), citing Megasthenes, insists on the absence of theft among Indians, and goes on to say:

> "And that too among a people who use unwritten laws only. For, he continues, they have no knowledge of written letters, and regulate every single thing from memory." (p. 87-89)

As a resident of the capital of the Maurya empire, Megasthenes must have attended one or more sessions of the royal law court. There he must have seen the judges quoting from the dharmaśāstras without therefore consulting any written lawbooks. To his question where the rules of law came from he must have been told: "from *smṛti*". Megasthenes or his interpreter evidently knew the common meaning of *smṛti*, namely: "memory", whereas he was unaware—as could be expected—of the technical use of *smṛti*, namely; "the whole corpus of dharmaśāstras". It is the lack of an adequate knowledge of the language in which the information was given, which is responible for the statement that all legal rules came "from memory"; it was a mere coincidence that information, thus translated, corresponded to reality, since, according to a well established practice, the learned judges must indeed have known their texts by heart, and therefore, actually quoted from memory. However, the error becomes really serious, when Megasthenes went on inferring, first, that the Indians used unwritten laws only, and, second, that they had no knowledge of written letters. Starting from the false premise mentioned above we understand how such a conclusion could be arrived at; but at present we know that the conclusion of Indians having no written letters had to be wrong at a time so close to the moment when Aśoka made inscribe his edicts all over India.

In the preciding paragraph we analyzed a first class of erroneous data about India, and illustrated them with examples drawn from a selection of Greek and Latin texts. For a number of reasons—we distinguished five of them, but it should be possible to discover others—the AncientWestern authors, although they honestly tried to describe India as they had seen it, were unable to achieve their goal. It is important to insist once again on the basic characteristic which was common to all five types of the first class: the erroneous data were the result of factors which were beyond the authors' control. We shall now pass on to another series of factors which contributed toward creating a second class of erroneous data about India. In this class the factors at work will no longer be completely beyond the writers' control.

It goes without saying that the Ancient Western travellers, even those who tried their very best to draw a well balanced and complete picture, paid attention primarily to those things which struck them as new, foreign, unusual. This tendency should not really surprise us, since it is inherent in any travel account; even present day travellers do not act otherwise.

However, there can be no doubt that, of all countries which the Ancient travellers visited, India was the one which offered them new and strange things in the highest degree. India thus soon became the country where even the most fundamental aspects of life were different. Pliny (6.58), for instance, reports that

> "In that country the aspect of the heavens and the rising of the stars are different," (p. 381)

and Pomponius Mela (3.7) in his turn points out that

> "India is so far away from our part of the world that..., differently from what is observed elsewhere, objects cast their shadows towards the South" [translation ours].

The image of India being the part of the world where everything was different and unusual was given additional strength by a second factor, namely, the view which prevailed among travellers and, perhaps even more so, among those who read

their accounts at home: India, more than any other country, was part of a different world, or, to be more precise, India was situated at the extreme end of a world of which the Mediterranean was the undisputed centre.

According to Herodotus (3.98), for instance, beyond India's eastern frontier there is nothing but desert:

> "All to the east of the Indian country is sand; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia; for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand," (p. 127)

and in another passage, the same author (4.40) acknowledges that about the area east of India nothing is known:

> "As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land, but thereafter all to the east is desert, nor can any man say what kind of land is there." (p. 239)

Pliny (2. 170), on the other hand, quoting Cornelius Nepos, has the strange view that India is the last country before the ocean which, farther northward, forms the common border of Asia and Europe:

> "Nepos also records as to the northern circuit that Quintus Metellus Celer, colleague of Afranius in the consulship but at the time pro-consul of Gaul, received from the King of the Swabians a present of some Indians, who on a trade voyage had been carried off their course by storms to Germany." (p. 305)

Actually, other authors are more modest and agree that the limits of the world about which precise data were available were the Indus and its affluents; beyond these accurate data are largely replaced by speculation. Thus Arrian (8.4.1):

> "As for the yonder side of the Hyphasis, I cannot speak with confidence, since Alexander did not proceed beyond the Hyphasis," (p. 313.)

and, after a short description of that part of the world, he again (8.6.1.) warns the reader:

> "This then must be regarded as a digression, so that too much credence may not be given to the stories which certain persons have related about the Indians beyond the Hyphasis; for those who served under Alexander are reasonably trustworthy up to the Hyphasis." (p. 321)

To the two preciding factors, namely: India as the country where many things are strange, and India as the end of the world, we shall now add a third element. So far we have spoken mainly of Ancient Western travellers, i.e. of persons who actually visited India. We even insisted upon the fact that the very first Greek account about India was written by one such traveller. However, there is no doubt that of all data about India occurring in the classical texts those collected on the spot are but a small minority. Other authors too, who had never visited the country, have not hesitated to write about it. Some of these latter authors were honest enough to quote their sources, but others did not. We may be sure that many an information about India was merely based upon anonymous rumours the origin of which could no longer be traced.

Some authors are aware of this situation and actually warn their readers that the information they report is based on mere hearsay. In between the two quotations cited above (8.4.1 and 8.6.1) Arrian (8.5.1) again stresses the fact that

> "my remarks may be regarded as set down on hearsay only." (p. 317)

But other authors have been less cautious, and simply repeated the data as they had read or heard them from some undefined source. Going through Greek and Latin literature we have been struck by the numerous allusions to India with practically every author, with many more authors at least than those who have been quoted in modern books on the subject. Considering this list which grows constantly as we extend our readings into the Greek and Roman writers, we have been convinced of a basic fact to which never sufficient attention has been paid: both in Greece and Rome, India has been a much

discussed subject. It has been so with the authors whose works have been preserved, but it must also have been so in numerous daily conversations of which no traces are left. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the data about this strange country at the end of the earth have been much amplified and exaggerated in Greece and Rome themselves. This factor, too, has to be taken into account whenever we evaluate the classical texts about India. Says Pliny (6. 58-59):

> "For it [=India] has been brought to knowledge not only by the armed forces of Alexander the Great and the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus, and their admiral of the fleet Patrocles having sailed round even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, but also by other Greek authors who have stayed as guests with the Indian kings, for instance Megasthenes, and Dionysus sent by Philadelpus for that purpose, and have also reported as to the strength of these nations. Nevertheless there is no possibility of being exact as to this matter, so discrepant and so difficult to believe are the accounts given." (p. 381-383)

The three aforesaid factors soon contributed towards creating a general atmosphere of which all accounts about India participated: India, more than any other part of the world, became the land of marvels, the land of nothing but marvels, the country where everything was marvellous and extraordinary. In short: the country about which one could speak with superlatives only.

It sounds like a statement of principle when Herodotus (3.106) says:

> "It would seem that the fairest blessings have been granted to the most distant nations of the world." (p. 133)

Pliny (6.79), too, has a similar general statement:

> "Remarkable and almost fabulous reports as to fertility of soil and variety of crops and trees or wild animals and birds and other living creatures will be recorded in their several places in the remainder of the work." (p. 397-399).

Among numerous other possible examples, we shall now try to give a few characteristic instances of Greek and Latin passages showing the tendency to exalt and exaggerate anything Indian.

From Arrian (8.3.6) we know that the most fabulous conceptions existed about the size of the country:

> "Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that the land of India is equal in size to the rest of Asia, which is absurd; and Onesicritus is absurd, who says that India is a third of the entire world." (p 313)

As seen from the above quotation from Pliny (6.79) India was also exceptionally fertile; elsewhere the same author (6.58) specifies, that

> "there are two summers and two harvests yearly." (p. 381)

The Indian rivers are more numerous and much larger than any rivers elsewhere in the world. Several authors stress this fact; thus Arrian (8.3.9):

> "There are many more rivers in India alone than there are in all the rest of Asia [translation ours]; greatest are the Ganges and the Indus, whence the land gets its name; each of these is greater than the Nile of Egypt and the Scythian Ister, even were these put together." (p. 313)

After having thus referred to the Indus and the Ganges, follows this typical statement (8. 3. 10):

> "Possibly also many other greater rivers run through the land of the Indians." *[translation ours]*

And we cannot beyond also quoting the passage (8.4.7) about the breadth of the Ganges:

> "The breadth therefore of the Ganges, where it is at its narrowest, runs to a hundred stades; often it spreads into lakes, so that the opposite side cannot be seen, where

it is low and has no projections of hills." p. (315)

Agreed that the Ganges is a mighty river; but to say that "where it is at its narrowest" it measures eleven miles and a half is exactly the type of exaggeration which we want to point out at present.

Another example of exaltation relates to the Indian cities To quote again Arrian (8. 10. 2):

> "As for the cities of India, one could not record their number accurately by reason of their multitude " (p. 333)

Coming to the population of India, as early as Herodotus (3.94), we read·

> "These are more in number than any nations known to me." (p. 123)

The Indians are, however, not only more numerous than all other peoples; the tendency towards exaggeration becomes even much more manifest when we learn, through Arrian (5. 4. 4), that

> "they are tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, five cubits, most of them, or very little short of it." (p. 15)

That means that the average Indian stood seven feet and six inches tall! Actually the stature of men seems to have grown as they lived farther eastward: says Philostratus in his "Life of Apollonius of Tyana" (2. 4)·

> Having passed the Caucasus our travellers say they saw men four cubits high, and that they were already black, and that when they passed over the river Indus they saw others five cubits high." (p. 123)

Another rationalization establishes a link between the Indians' exceptional stature and the uncommon fertility of the soil; thus Diodorus of Sicily (2. 36. 1):

"The same is true of the inhabitants also, the abundant supply of food making them of unusual height and bulk of body; and another result is that they are also skilled in the arts, since they breathe a pure air and drink water of the finest quality." (p. 5)

Needless to say that under these circumstances Indians also became a very healthy people. Even the fact of having attributed excellent physicians to India—see quotation above—does not prevent Arrian (8.15.12) from saying in the next sentence:

"But there are not many illnesses in India, since the seasons are more temperate than with us." (p. 353)

Strabo (15.1.34), quoting Onesicritus, is even much more explicit:

"He describes also the country of Musicanus, lauding it rather at length for things of which some are reported as common also to other Indians, as, for example, their length of life, thirty years beyond one hundred (and indeed some say that the Seres live still longer than this), and their healthfulness, and simple diet, even though their country has an abundance of everything." (p. 59-61)

The picture of the Indians' excellency was not restricted to their physical features either; it was also extended to their moral qualities.

For instance, the Indians are a peaceful people. Says Arrian (8.5.4):

"This Megasthenes says, moreover, that the Indians waged war on no men," (p. 319)

and elsewhere (8.9.12) the same statement is provided with a justification:

"But no Indian ever went outside his own country on a warlike expedition, so righteous were they." (p. 333)

A more specific example refers to theft, or rather to its absence among Indians. Strabo (15.1.53), for instance, has this to say:

> "But their greatest self-restraint pertains to theft; at any rate, Megasthenes says that when he was in the camp of Sandrocottus, although the number in camp was forty thousand, he on no day saw reports of stolen articles that were worth more than two hundred drachmae." (p. 87)

Although we in no way want to imply that theft was a common phenomenon in India, the numerous rules about theft in the Indian "lawbooks" prove sufficiently that the Greek author's statement covers an idealized picture.

Another example bears upon the absolute integrity of women however with a rather unexpected exception. Says Arrian (8.17.3):

> "Their women, such as are of great modesty, can be seduced by no other gift, but yield themselves to anyone who gives an elephant; and the Indians think it no disgrace to yield thus on the gift of an elephant, but rather it seems honourable for a woman that her beauty should be valued at an elephant." (p. 357)

The above examples could easily be multiplied. We intend to come back to some of them in detail elsewhere. At present we merely wanted to point out the general characteristics of a second class of erroneous data about India in Greek and Latin texts: a tendency to exaggerate, and describe everything Indian as larger, better, more beautiful, more fertile, etc. than elsewhere in the world. This general statement now asks for a few remarks.

A first remark concerns the fact that, differently from all examples cited above, the tendency towards exaggerating situations Indian also manifests itself in the opposite direction. Thus when it comes to describing their customs, the Indians who are tall, beautiful and morally perfect are attributed a most

barbarian state of mind. A passage from Herodotus (3.99) affords ample proof of this situation:

> "Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when any of their countryfolk male or female are sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that they lose his flesh by the wasting of the disease; though he denies that he is sick, yet they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick she is put to death like the men by the women who most consort with her. As for one that has come of old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh; but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that," (p. 127-129)

and another passage from the same author (3.101) goes even further:

> "These Indians of whom I speak have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not white like other men's, but like the Ethiopians' black." (p. 129)

A second remark clearly reveals the real nature of the exaggerations which we have been dealing with. On a number of occasions it is evident that *two* connected elements which, as such, could easily coexist, have been made the objects of exaggerations, to the extent that they become completely contradictory and mutually exclusive.

We have quoted above two passages from Arrian (8.5.4 and 8.9.12) where it was said that the Indians never launched war against anybody; the objective reader of Arrian's book cannot but halt here for a moment and feel embarrassed about a contradiction which Arrian himself apparently was not concerned about. Earlier in the text, when describing Alexander's campaign in India, Arrian (5.4.4) had said indeed that the Indians were the bravest warriors of all Asia! The situation is clear: the Indians, who were normally peaceful, fought courageously against Alexander. These *two* aspects, which could coëxist without any difficulty, were both taken separately and

made the objects of the usual exaggerations: they *never* fight war on the one hand, and they are *the most* courageous fighte on the other. The fact that a serious author like Arrian coul be carried away to that extent proves that the basic point wa the exaggeration as such, irrespective of its consequences.

Before passing on to the third remark we shall add anoth example illustrating the simultaneous existence of exaggeratio in both directions. We already mentioned the apparent exaggera tion of the Indians' length of life, as seen with Strabo (15.1.34 from Onesicritus, namely: one hundred and thirty years. Th opinion of Onesicritus, which must have been known to Arria too, does not, however, prevent the latter from exaggerating i the other direction. In the passage relating the low age o marriage for girls, referred to above, Arrian (8.9.5) does no hesitate to explain this phenomenon by the statement that could not have been otherwise in a society in which "the olde of them die at forty."

The third remark, then, concerns a personal impressio Not only had it become customary to speak about India wit superlatives, to the extent of creating apparent contradiction but, it seems to us, a great number of these superlatives ha been stereotyped and, for certain objects, were used more o less mechanically. This consideration mainly came to us whe collecting materials from Aelian's "On the Characteristics o Animals."

Thus, various Indian animals were given excessive strengt About dogs Aelian (4.19) has this to say:

> "The Hounds of India are reckoned as wild animals; the are exceedingly strong and fierce-tempered, and are th largest dogs in the world," (p. 231)

but a few paragraphs later (4.21), it is again said:

> "There is in India a wild beast, powerful, daring, as bi as the largest lion, of a red colour like cinnabar, shagg like a dog, and in the language of India it is calle *Martichoras*." (p. 233)

and again (4.27):

"I have heard that the Indian animal the Gryphon is

> quadruped like a lion; that it has claws of enormous strength and that they resemble those of a lion." (p. 241)

Not only Indian animals are constantly described as large, fierce, and—very often—swift, but our impression is that, besides, certain parts of all animals have been paid more attention to than others: their teeth, horns, and their—enormous—tails. It would be the biologist's task to determine to what extent the descriptions of Indian animals are correct, but we wanted to record our impression that there is something unnatural and artificial about them.

A fourth remark about the second class of erroneous information concerning India wants to draw attention to a few special cases. It is only natural that, as soon as India had become the land of marvels and wonders, anything could be attributed to it. Hence the fact that to India have been ascribed a number of extraordinarily fantastic stories, such as this from Arrian (8.6.2-3):

> "Megasthenes tells us this also about an Indian river; its name is Silas, it flows from a spring of the same name as the river through the territory of the Sileans, the people also named both from river and spring; its water has the following peculiarity: nothing is supported by it, nothing can swim in it or float upon it, but everything goes straight to the bottom; so far is this water thinner and more aery than any other." (p. 321-323)

It will not always be easy either to find out what such stories were based upon and how they assumed the form in which we know them, or to show that they are the results of pure imagination. Even the Indologist is not capable of solving such problems methodically one after the other; he can only hope accidentally to come across certain Indian data which help him come to a better understanding of the Greek or Latin text.

This brings us, finally, to a fifth and last remark. The data about India are so numerous in the Greek and Latin texts that it has often been assumed that they were mere inventions by the authors of their sources. We think especially of the endless lists of proper names located in India: names of rivers, of cities,

and, even more so, of tribes. Many of these names could nc be identified so far; hence the hypothesis that at least some c them never existed. For all these cases our working hypothesi: in the light of the above mentioned considerations, would b as follows. We do not want to exclude the possibility of som of these names having been coined from nothing, but we woul not a prioiri accept such a procedure: We very well see the po: sibility of a number of geographic and other names having bee attributed to India whereas they originally belonged elsewhere Let us not forget here that, to the Ancient Westerners, Indi was *the* unknown country, it was *the* land where everything wa marvellous and where anything was possible. Under the: circumstances, we should not be surprised that India becam the centre of a general syncretism of anything otherwi: unknown. Hence our hypothesis that many geographical an other names, which had come to the knowledge of the Ancient but which they could no longer locate, found their place in th accounts about India. Hence also our appeal to specialists o other Asian or even African countries to occasionally look a the so-called Indian proper names; we have a feeling that b doing so they might very well come across some famili: names, and that they might thus considerably help Indic sch lars their difficult task.

PARENTAGE AND EARLY CAREER OF BABUR'S SPOUSE DILDAR BEGAM AGHACHA

Dr. Z. A. DESAI

The scions of the illustrious house of Tīmūr, whether in Central Asia or India, have left their name to posterity and won eternal fame, no less on account of their literary and cultural activities and highly refined aesthetic taste than their political greatness. As scholars, bibliophiles, historians, biographers, memoir writers, painters or poets, they have not only patronised learning, literature and fine arts, wherever they went, but have also enriched various branches of knowledge by their own contributions. Their unrivalled service to the cause of Persian and Turkish literature is too well known to the scholars of these languages to need any further elucidation here

The Mughal Emperor, Zahīru'd-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty in India, was no exception. True to the family tradition and example, he filled the roll of an author and penman, of an artist, craftsman and sportsman, of a lover of Nature and maker of gardens and of an admirer of architectural creations, all in one. That this is not an exaggerated statement in any way, must be clear to those who have had occasion to cast even a cursory glance at his Memoirs, the celebrated *Bābur Nāma*, or *Tūzuk-i-Bābūri* as it is sometimes called. Foremost among his successors in India, who are equally renowned as men of letters are Prince Kāmrān, Humāyūn, Jāhangīr, Dārā Shukūh, Aurangzeb, Shāh 'Ālam II and Bahādur Shāh Zafar, whose poetical and prose works have earned high praise from connoisseurs and laymen alike.

The Timurid princesses too, whether by birth or by alliance, did not lag behind their male counterparts in literary attainments or artistic taste and accomplishments. For example, Bābur's daughter Gulbadan Begam and Aurangzeb's daughter Zebu'n-Nisā stand out most prominent among the Indian prin-

cesses as women of literary talents. The former's *Humāyūn Nāma*, as is well known, is an indispensable source for the history of her brother Emperor Humāyūn.

But despite their fame and celebrity, there are still a few aspects, particularly, of their every day life and family, which have remained somewhat obscure and hidden. This too—and it is very surprising—when they had a host of historians and narrators at their disposal, who could have left detailed accounts for posterity. But perhaps the main task of these chroniclers was to glorify, more than anything else, or so it would seem, their political achievements, feats of prowess and acts of generosity and munificence. The result is that not much is known to us about the domestic life of these emperors, who were not only part of the country's history and community-life but its central figures for more than three centuries. Notwithstanding Babur's own *Bābur-Nāma* or his daughter Gulbadan's *Humāyūn-Nāma* and the *Akbar-Nāma* of Akbar's minister and historian Abu'l-Faḍl, to name only a few, who knows anything worthwhile about Dildār Aghācha, wife of Bābur and mother of his five children, including Prince Hindāl Mīrzā and Gulbadan Begam, who appears to have been a lady of great charm and dignity and personal accomplishments. Gulbadan does mention her a number of times in her history of the events of the reign of Humāyūn, before and after his exile to Persia, but these do not help us to draw any life-like picture of this great lady, as will be seen from the following lines.

Fortunately, an inscription of the time of Humāyūn found in recent years, furnishes a very important piece of historical information about Begam Dildār Aghācha. The tablet bearing this inscription may be seen on the central prayer-niche of the 'Idgāh at Bulandshahr, Baran of early histories and now a district headquarters town in western Uttar Pradesh. Not that this inscription had remained unnoticed so far. Far from that, as early as in the second half of the last century, its existence was made public and its brief particulars were quoted.[1] But since it was incorrectly and incompletely deciphered, nobody thought of

1. E.T. Atkinson, *Statistical, descriptive and historical account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol III (Allahabad, 1875), p 130; A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p 5.

associating the lady mentioned therein as Bānū Begam, wi Bābur's wife. The same incomplete information was more ‹ less repeated in the district gazetteer, with the result that tl name of Dildār Begam and the official status she enjoyed und Humāyūn, remained unknown to the students and scholars Indian history.

The extremely interesting information that is afforded this epigraph, recording the construction of a mosque Nikpay Khān in 1538 A.D., is that it refers itself to t governorship (*'amal'*) of Begam Dildār Aghācha.[1] In a wa this is a unique inscription in that we have not come acro in India, so far, any inscription that might have been, acc(ding to its own statement, set up during the governorship of lady. Incidentally, it is rather a happy coincidence that Bulandshahr also belongs the distinction of having anotl unique inscription, though fragmentary, set up during t reign of the only lady to grace the throne of Delhi, nam(Queen Raḍiyya[2].

From the above, it is clear that Begam Dildār Aghāc had the unique distinction of being the governor of the pla(No other lady, in inscriptions or perhaps, in recorded histo of India too, is known to have held such charge independent It is rather surprising that nowhere in the historical works the time of Humāyūn and Akbar, including the *Humāyūn-Nā* of Dildār Aghācha's daughter Gulbadan, any mention is ma of the official charge held by Dildār, though Gulbadan d(mention her in some places in her book in connection w events of the reign of Humāyūn that took place before a after the date of the above inscription.

What is more surprising and rather inexplicable, that Bābur himself should just mention her. Whatever f references to her occur in the *Humāyūn Nāma*, disclose v(little of Dildār Aghacha's life. According to Mrs. Anne S. Beveridge, who has edited Gulbadan's work and translat it into English, 'she is frequently written of by her daughte some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impressic

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1962-63, No. D, 263.
2. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1966, pp-] pl. I a.

and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman'.[1] But the account given by Mrs. Beveridge shows that these references fail to give any substantial information about Dildār's life and career. Neither the husband nor the daughter gives any information whatsoever about her early life or even parentage.[2] The suggestion that this may have been perhaps due to her low social status or at least non-royal birth, rests on two facts. Firstly, she is throughout styled Aghācha by Gulbadan and others who mention her. According to Mrs. Beveridge, the exact significance of this term is not perfectly clear, but on her own statement, it is occasionally rendered in English as concubine,[3] but being herself inclined to define it as 'a lady, but not a begam, by birth',[4] she feels that the term Aghacha though used in the sense of a 'lady' in contradiction to a begam, does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional rendering (concubine) does'.[5] Again, according to Mrs. Beveridge, no deduction as to the low birth could be drawn safely from the use of that term.[6] As regards the failure on the part of Bābur and Gulbadan in not mentioning her royal parentage or high birth, she thinks that this silence does not necessarily imply low birth, as it could be an omission of the contemporarily obvious.[7]

The other fact, which may be taken to attribute low status to Dildār Aghācha, is the forcible adpotion of her two children Gulbadan and Hindāl by Māham Begam, the chief lady of Bābur's household and mother of his eldest son. The basis of this inference is the fact that in some cases mentioned by Bābur himself, adoptions were made by a childless wife of

1. Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, *The History of Humāyūn* (Eng. tr. of *Humāyūn-Nāma)* (London, 1902), p. 225.
2. For references in Gulbadan's work, see *ibid.*, pp. 20, 29, 32, 38, 43, 45, 47, 52, 62, 76 (of the text), p. 225 and also index under Dildār Begam.
3. For example, Abu'l-Fadl, *Akbar-Nāma*, vol. II (Calcutta 1881), p. 62.
4. Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

high degree from a slave or servant.[1] But there seems to no such reason on record, according to Mrs. Beveridge, beh the adoptions of Dildār's children. Mrs. Beveridge also se to think that the terms in which Dildār Aghācha is spoken preclude the supposition that she was outside the circle distinction, though she herself is compelled to note that ano near relation, Mīrzā Ḥaidar Daughlāt, author of the *Tārīk Rashīdī*, thinks otherwise.[2] It is clear that Mrs. Beverid observations on this point can at best be termed as think aloud.

In fairness to Mrs. Beveridge, however, it must be admi that she has not made any secret of her inability to de about the question of the low status and non-royal parent of Dildār Aghācha or otherwise. She has wisely refrai from insisting upon her views and inferences on the subj But one thing is clear, and it is that she does want to beli that Dildār came of a high, if not a royal, family. At place, for example, she hints that there is some ground supposing that she was perhaps of Mīrān Shāhī birth,[3] even makes a futile attempt to suggest her identification v Sāliḥa Sulṭān Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mī Ṣhāhī.[4]

In short, one will find Mrs. Beveridge's observations the matter quite indecisive, and if one may say so, utt confused, though she disarms her critics by acknowledging inability to do better. Then, it is also to be remembered t her failure to put forth any conclusive information on t point, is mainly due to the scant data available about Dil Aghācha, a factor contributed no less, one is constrainec feel, by the conspiracy of silence on the part of both husband Bābur and daughter Gulbadan. It is theref creditable on the part of Mrs. Beveridge that she at le attempted to find a solution to this problem. But regrettal no body else has followed it up.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 225.
2. *Ibid*, p. 9.
3. *Ibid*, p. 225.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

Now what may be considered as an important clue to the early career, if not to the birth (however indirectly), of Dildār Aghācha is found in the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* of the contemporary Shaikh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqī, paternal uncle of the more celebrated Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, and himself a saintly personage of his time and poet of Persian and Hindi (1492-1581 A.D.). The manuscript of this valuable work is in London, but fortunately, the Hindi translation of its extracts is available in Dr. Sayyid Aṭhar 'Abbās Riḍawī's Hindi series of the original sources in Persian and Arabic for the medieval Indian History[1]. In the section of his book on the Malwa Sulṭān Naṣīru'd-Din (1500-11 A.D.), Rizqu'llāh also mentions Dildār Aghācha. Of course in the manuscript, the appellation Aghācha seems to have been transcribed as Ghācha, since not only Dr. Riḍawī uses the latter form, but Dr. Hameedu'd-Dīn too, who has utilised the same portion from the manuscript in one of his articles, spells it that way.[2] There should be little doubt that Ghācha is the scribe's mistake for Aghācha.

Dildār Aghācha was, according to Shaikh Rizqu'llāh, a woman of vast learning, charm and grace. Celebrated alike for her great erudition, accomplishments and poetic talents, she had been favoured with the title of the *nadīma i-majlis* (boon-companion in the royal assembly) by the Malwa king. The interesting anecdote related by Shaikh Rizqu'llāh to illustrate Dildār Aghācha's poetic genius, particularly in extempore composition, may well bear reproduction here in full: The Shaikh relates that the Malwa Sulṭān was once on a pleasure-visit to one of the many pleasure-pavilions which were built by him at Kāliadeh, situated near the river Sipra, about 7 miles from Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh. He was enjoying the flowing water falling from the water channel constructed with great engineering skill, into one of the water-reservoirs in the palace. His legs which were let down

1. S.A.A. Riḍawi, *Uttar Taimūr-kālin Bhārat*, Part II (Aligarh, 1959), pp. 140-41.

2. Ḥameedu'd-Din, 'The Khaljis of Malwa and the Sulṭāns of Delhi', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XL (1962), p. 756.

in the reservoir, were splashed by the falling water.[1] Jus that moment, Dildār Āghāchā arrived there. The king as her to recite some verse. She recited *impromptu* the follow verse :—

آب از پی سرو قدت می آید دو فرسنگها

از حسرت پابوس تو سر می زند بر سنگها

"Water comes racing from *farsangs* (i.e. a great distai for (having a look at) the cypress of your stature. It stri its heads against the stones on account of its unfulfilled de of kissing your feet."[2]

The Sulṭān was so much moved with the extempore reply t he avowed that were not Dildār Aghācha a member of weaker sex, he would not have hesitated to leave his kingd to her. He rewarded her with some administrative privil which were enjoyed by him.[3]

In the confusion that followed the death of Su

1. The water-palace referred to by Rizqu'llāh is evidently water-palace for which Kaliadeh is even now famous. I described as a curious building, standing on an island in river Sipra whose left branch is spanned by a massive be masonry in which covered chambers (*tahkhānas*) capabl remaining cool, have been erected as an adjunct to the w palace These chambers consist of a long gallery running a the western side, with several small rooms and kiosks erecte the stone basement. By controlling the river at this p the water is made to flow over the chambers along the mas bed, and after cooling the galleries, it falls into a cascade the stream again at the northern end of the structure is perhaps the point where the Malwa Sulṭān sat The buil is stated to have been converted, through repairs, into a mo palace for the Mahārāja of Gwalior, more than sixty years In the seventeenth century, the Mughal emperor Jahāngir seems to have ordered some alterations or additions as test by an inscription. There are two more epigraphs on building, purporting to be a visitor's records left by the fan official, historian, poet and engraver of inscriptions, Muḥammad Maṣūm Nāmi of Bakkar, when he halted there a with Akbar's army on the way to and back from Khan (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34, pp. 13-16).
2. In Riḍawi, *op cit.*, p. 140, the words *az pay-i-sarv-i-qadat* in first hemistich have been read as *az pai sar-wa-qadat*. translation of the hemistich 'Water is coming headlong f *farsangs* is consequently wrong and fails to convey the be of the idea
3. *Ibid*, p. 140.

Nasiru'd-Dīn in 1511 A.D., most of the nobility and oth high-ranking people migrated to the neighbouring province Among those who repaired to the court of Sikandar Lodī Agra was Dildār Aghācha and three other eminent nobleme renowned alike for ability and learning. She was introduc to Sikandar Lodī by Khwājgi Shaikh Sa'īd, and though tl Sulṭān was impressed by her varied talents, he did not think fit that a lady should act as a royal boon-companion, ar accordingly advised her to lead a homely life. Disappointe she left Agra.[1]

After this event, she is not heard of any more. H subsequent whereabouts are not on record, nor is it know where she went from Agra. But it is quite likely that imm diately after this event, she came into contact with Bābu She probably left India for Kabul and Central Asia where sl met Bābur, and the latter, himself a man of great literary ar artistic talents, being impressed by her attainments, might ha married her. Or, Bābur who is reported to have visited Ag some time during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar in the garb of *qalandar*,[2] may have cultivated friendship and liking for h and took her to Kabul.

Be what may, the circumstancial evidence in favour of tl identification of this attractive lady of great charm and tale with the wife of Bābur is quite strong. Firstly, the name both the ladies, even to their appellation Aghācha, is identica Secondly, the time of her post-Agra career coincides with tl likely time of Bābur's marriage with Gulbadan's mother, whic works out to sometime between 1509 and 1519, according t Mrs. Beveridge[3] This is also the time when she could ha met Bābur either in India or outside to be ultimately marrie to him. Thirdly, and this is no less significant, the propose identification would fully explain the veil of obscurity that h been allowed to cover the descent and early career of Bega Dildār Aghācha. It is otherwise unreasonably inexplicabl

1. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
2. Ḥāji Dabir, *Zafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muzaffar wa-Ālih* (London, 192 p. 924; 'Abdu'llah, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* (Aligarh, 1954), pp. 63-64.
3. Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, *The Memoirs of Bābur* (London, 192 p. 689, n. 5.

that writing as they were in different circumstances and at different times and places, both Bābur and Gulbadan, normally disposed to write in greater details, should have chosen to observe silence in this case. It, therefore, looks almost certain that Bābur's wife Begam Dildār Aghācha is none other than the attractive boon-campanion of the Malwa Sulṭān. It is but natural that a lady, so full of life and vigour and endowed with poetic temperament and flair for boon-companionship as Dildār Aghacha was, should appeal to the romantic disposition and like accomplishments of the Timurid prince, who must have found her charms irresistible. In any case, the colourful personality of Dildār, an attempt to unfold which has been made in the above lines, does reveal to us a few of the less known aspects of the Indian life and conditions of the medieval period, relating, however indirectly or casually, to different problems like the education of women, their place in society and government and the like.

ABUL FAZL AS A HISTORIAN

K. A. NIZAMI

"I was sick of the learned of my own land," writes Abul Fazl, "my brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the Emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth."[1] Thus Abul Fazl, the doyen of Persian historians, entered the service of Akbar destined to make his mark on the tradition of historical writing in India.

Abul Fazl's chief historical works—the *Akbar Namah* and its supplement, the *A'in-i-Akbari*—rank amongst some of the finest in the whole range of Persian historical literature. The *A'in-i-Akbari*, in particular, is a unique work of its type. Nothing at all resembling it, remarks V.A. Smith, was ever compiled in Asia and it would be difficult to find an authoritative compilation of this type even in Europe.[2] In fact Abul Fazl may be regarded a pioneer in the field of collection and utilisation of statistical data for purposes of historical study. In 1776, some 13 years before the French Revolution when France was passing through acute financial crisis, Le Pere Tieffentaller published extracts from the rent rolls given in the *A'in*—in his *Description Geographique de l' Indostan*. Perhaps Abul Fazl was

1. *Akbar Namah*, as translated by Blochmann in his Biography of Abul Fazl in *A'in-i-Akbari*, p. xxv. See also Beveridge, *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, p. 119.

2. *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 4.

the first Indo-Persian historian to attract the attention of European scholars. An impartial assessment of his works, however, remains a desideratum. His works have been carefully studied, but not critically examined; his opinions have either been accepted blindly or rejected categorically, without an attempt to trace them to the subtle psychological moods of the author, his assessment of men, movements and situations have been valued, and rightly so, but no endeavour has been made to investigate the basic categories of Abul Fazl's thought which ultimately determined his treatment of history. Abul Fazl has been either admired or condemned;[1] he has not been understood.

Abul Fazl was something more than a mere conventional official historian. He was the creator of a cult, essentially Rex-centric but having religion also within its orbit. An erudite scholar and an intelligent philosopher as he was, he deftly wove Akbar's "unspoken wishes" into the matrix of a philosophic system Handling his subject as a literary artist, he put the 'incantation' as well as the 'connotation' of words to their maximum use and where 'plain truth' was found unsavoury, he overawed his reader's intellect by conducting him into a labyrinth of high sounding words. Both the spirit of his writings as well as the style of his expression call for a careful analytical study. He expects from his reader a sharp and ready wit, an intelligence which can pierce through the jugglery of words, and a mind that can reach the depths of his soul. Nearly a century before him, Mir Khwand (ob. 1498), the famous author of *Rauzat-us Safa*, had thus advised the official historians "The official historian should by hints, insinuations, overpraise and such other devices as may come to hand, never fail to express his true opinion, which, while undetected by his illiterate patron, is sure to be understood by the intelligent and the wise." Abul Fazl's patron was exceptionally intelligent and therefore he had to use great ingenuity and skill in applying this devise. In a very suggestive and significant sentence he says that when he undertook to compile this history he decided to "treat of the mysteries of

1 The tendency had developed in his life time: "Meetings were held to praise and to blame the (*Akbar Namah*), and there was a new market-day for approbation and disapprobation." *Akbar Namah*, II. p. 555.

truth with a cryptic tongue (*zaban-i-gomago*)[1]".

Abul Fazl's thought and personality was conditioned by the circumstances of his life and the mental and emotional climate of the period in which he grew up to manhood.

Abul Fazl was a precocious child, endowed with sharp and penetrating intelligence. At the age of fifteen he completed his education of the rational and traditional sciences (*fanun-i-hikmi wa ulum-i-naqli*). Referring to his early education he once remarked: "The beginning of my education came from Arabic. In Persian I was less versed.[2]" With a firm background of the Arabic language he turned to a study of religion and philosophy. He reflected for sometime on the 'secrets of the Platonists (*Ishraqiyan*)' 'the wide treasures of the Sufis' and 'the wonderous observations of Peripatetics (*Mashshayan*)[3]'. Then he was drawn towards a comparative study of different creeds, religions and schools of thought. "A while", he writes, "my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay, and felt inclined towards the ascetics of Mount Lebanon. Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas of Tibet broke my peace, and sometimes a sympathy with the *Padris* of Portugal pulled at my skirt. Sometimes a conference with the *mubids* of Persia and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of *Zand Avesta* robbed me of repose, for my soul was alienated from the society of both the *Arbab-i-Sahv* and the *Ashab-i-Sukr* of my own land.[4]" It was but inevitable for a man with such an inquisitive and philosophic bent of mind to turn to religious debates and discussions in search of a deeper synthesis of religious attitudes. From the 15th to the 25th year of his life he regularly participated in religious discussions[5] but the quest of his soul grew apace. He got fed up with the whole technique of casuistry as developed by the medieval Muslim theologians. These religious controversies, however, paved the way for the growth of cosmopolitan

1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 552. Explaining the phrase *zaban-i gomago*, Beveridge writes:".. a tongue that speaks and does not speak, i.e. the words are only to be understood by the initiated."
2. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 545.
3. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 566.
4. *Akbar Namah*, III, pp. 117-118.
5. *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*, III, p. 264.

tendencies in him and he developed a catholic and tolerant attitude in all religious matters.

Another challenge to Abul Fazl's thought came from the circumstances of his family. His father, Shaikh Mubarak, who had lived in the company of scholars like Shaikh Abul Fazl Khatib, Shaikh Umar, Shaikh Yusuf and Mir Rafi'uddin Safavi Shirazi, was subsequently drawn towards the Mehdavis. The Mehdavi movement embodied a reaction and a revolt against many abuses of the contemporary Muslim society. It stood for the revival of higher values of religion and condemned all materialistic pursuits and theological disputations as negation of the true spirit of religion. Since the concept of Mehdi is connected with both religious and political reform, the Mehdavis could never escape the suspicion of the rulers of the day. This suspicion was fully exploited by the *ulama* and the Mehdavis were subjected to great hardships during the 16th century. Shaikh Mubarak's sympathy with the Mehdavis landed him in great trouble. Orthodox religious opinion mobilized all its forces against him and Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri confiscated his grants of land. For 20 years he was hunted from pillar to post. Very naturally these persecutions embittered Abul Fazl against orthodoxy and drove his mind inwards. He became an arrogant egotist.[1] Adoration of students whom his academic reputation had attracted in large numbers deepened the sources of his conceit. He developed a 'superiority complex' and thought of leading a life of retirement as the world appeared to him inhabited by intellectual pygmies. In this state of mind he could criticize anybody with impudence, regardless of the fact that some of this criticism could boomerang on him[2]. He condemned Firdausi as a "seller of words" and once charged Imam Ghazzali of uttering "nonsense". When his father and brother insisted upon his joining the court, he "looked upon

1. He has very frankly admitted this weakness in *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, p. 117, II, p. 566.

2. One very interesting example of this attitude is Abul Fazl's condemnation of those historians who use ornate language. "Most old authors and many writers of the present day display a worn-out embroidery They consider cadences and decorative style as the constituents of eloquence, and think that prose should be tricked out like the words of poets. They make the collocation

external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness".[1] This single sentence speaks volumes about his estimate of court life and its impact on one's thought and character. In fact by putting this conflict of his soul in the pages of *Akbar Namah*, he has registered in a subtle manner his aversion to the life of a courtier. The source of this aversion lay more in intellectual arrogance than in conscientious objection. His father, however, prevailed upon him and in 1574, a year before the construction of the Ibadat Khanah, he entered the service of Akbar. He was at this time thoroughly disgusted with the '*ulama* but, contrary to the impression that he conveys, he could not at this time find a place in the confidence of Akbar by his critical attitude towards them. The Emperor was fully under their control and Abul Fazl could not even dream of criticising them. In fact he approached the Emperor, not through any philosophic or historical treatise, but by presenting commentary on a portion of the Quran. He thus describes his mental condition at this time and the extent of his adjustment with the Emperor: "The alchemic glance of the spiritual and temporal lord gave fresh impulse to my energy and a new expansion to my heart. I was cured to some extent from the obstinate malady which my father with all his curative skill had been unable to remedy . *but there was something hypocritical in my down-sitting, and I was, as it were in ambush.*[2]" When the discussions of the Ibadat Khanah became acrimonious in spirit and Akbar's mind was alienated from the '*ulama*, it was then that Abul Fazl found a kindred spirit in the person of Akbar and built on this kinship a lasting edifice of love and devotion to the Emperor. He drew closer and closer to him and with his "acuteness of intellect" which, in the words of Father Monserrate, was not easily surpassable by any contemporary, wormed into his confidence as no one else could do. If any contemporary knew Akbar fully—in all his moods, emotions, ambitions, aspirations, ideals and desires—it was Abul Fazl.

of words, the art of derivations, the rules of paronomasia, and homonyms their central point. They expend their talents on quotations ., the use of synonyms . , allusions, the inventions of engimas and the reciting of panegyrics and genealogies.' (*Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, pp. 553-554).

1. *Akbar Namah*. III, p. 118.

2. *Akbar Namah*, Vol II, p. 568.

His sharp and penetrating intelligence succeeded in piercing through the thickest intrguments of Akbar's soul, X'rayed its every ambition, and gave a clear form even to his nebulous aspirations.

The most important single factor in the formulation of Abul Fazl's approach to his subject was his master's opinion about the purpose and scope of history and the functions of a historian. Next to philosophy, Akbar's great hobby was history. Historical works were daily read out to him[1] and he understood and assimilated the facts of history with sharp and critical acumen. The presence of a very large number of distinguished historians at the court considerably raised the level of historical discussions and created in the Emperor a desire to get his name and achievements immortalized by some capable historian Following Timur's tradition of asking all those who had taken part in political or military affairs to hand over memoranda of what they had seen or heard, Akbar also issued a proclamation to that effect. The accounts prepared by Gulbadan Begum, Bayazid Bayat, Jauhar Aftabchi and Abbas, in compliance with this imperial order, were useful so far as they supplied the necessary data for a background of Akbar's reign A deft hand alone could pick up from this literature pieces of information which could be effectively used in the preparation of a comprehensive history of the Timurids in India

Constant discussions about the historical works of the past had given Akbar a rare insight into the problems of historical studies and the originality of his thought did not fail him in this field too. When he entrusted the work of compiling the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* to a panel. he instructed it to adopt the *Rihlat* era in preference to the prevalent *Hijri* chronology. The board was further enjoined to avoid artificial literary embellishments. Another important instruction to the compilers was to begin the account of every king with an analysis of the circumstances which led to his assumption of royal power. This last instruction shows Akbar's pragmatic approach towards history.

1. Naqib Khan, who knew the seven volumes of *Rauzat-us-Safa* by heart, very often read out from "works on history, books of story, anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and Hindi." *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 99.

Some of these ideas of Akbar were modified by the experience he gained of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. He realized that a panel of authors could not perform the job he had in mind. When he decided to get a history of his reign compiled, he put Abul Fazl in sole charge of the work. A secretariat was, however, provided to collect and arrange the necessary statistical and other data for him. While several hands were to be associated in the collection of data, only one mind was to interpret it. Thus alone could be ensured the unity of treatment with the maximum of information.

Akbar generally disapproved of the use of the *Hijri* chronology[1] and recommended the application of the *Rihlat* era. But he did not ask Abul Fazl, who was an expert in eras and chronology,[2] to use the *Rihlat* chronology, probably because he realized what confusion could follow from such an experiment. It appears that Akbar's views with regard to presentation also underwent a change and he did not impose any restriction on Abul Fazl in reference to style. It is difficult to explain the reasons for this change in Akbar's views. Probably the feeling had gained ground that a majestic presentation alone could harmonize with his majestic achievements. Further, if the *Akbar Namah* was to find its place in the Mongol and Timurid historical literature, it had to be a piece of literary art.

Apart from all this, Abul Fazl wanted the history of India to answer one question which exercised his mind: What were the causes of misunderstanding and quarrels between various religions in India?[3] In an interesting section on the Ethnography

1 Abul Fazl informs us: "He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted, ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects did not carry out his design of suppressing it." *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, Jarrett, p. 29.

2. Abul Fazl's knowledge of different era—e.g. era of the Hindus, the Khatai Era, the Turkish Era, the Jewish Era, the era of Bakht Nasar, the Coptic Era, the Syro-Macedonian Era, the Christian Era, the Maliki Era—is evident from his discussion on the subject in the *A'in* (Vol II, pp. 1-30). May be that he was assisted by experts in compiling this section.

3. *A'i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 2.

of Hindustan, he has tried to answer this question and has, on ultimate analysis, found the following causes for this: ***First***, diversity of tongues which often leads to the misapprehension of mutual purposes; *secondly*, "the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them togeteher, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical rsult"; *thirdly*[1], the absorption of mankind in "the delights of corporeal gratification"; *fourthly*, indolence which prevents people from 'profound investigation' and 'deeper insight'; *fifthly*, traditional and inflexible adherence to customs which makes the slightest deviation from 'whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour' look as sacrilegious; *sixthly*, "the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution" which "stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies." Elaborating this point Abul Fazl holds rulers responsible for this apathy. "If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter," he remarks, "and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions have waxed high. Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of other worshippers of God." The *seventh* reason in the opinon of Abul Fazl was "the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude."[2] —This is not merely an analysis of an important sociological problem of India but also an exposition of Abul Fazl's approach towards Indian history. He laid out the plan of his work so as to highlight the achievements of his royal master with reference to all these seven points.

1. He was not fully satisfied with the results achieved during the reign of Akbar. "Even at the present time," he remarks, "when through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found." *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 3 He refers, in this connection, as his ideals to Buzurjmihr, Barzawaih, Tumtum, and Abu Maashar of Balkh who undertook long journeys in order to acquire knowledge.
2. *A'in-i- Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 3-6.

Abul Fazl undertook his assignment of writing a history of Akbar's reign in the same spirit in which one undertakes to build a memorial. "Of mighty monarchs of old," he wrote, "there was no memorial except the historians of their age and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicial annalists which could not be obliterated by the ravages of time."[1] But Abul Fazl was not prepared to follow the beaten track. "An extensive survey", he writes, "showed me that the palace of history was in ruins and that the ample plain of chronicles could be no arena for Truth's cavaliers.[2]" Thus when he undertook to write the history of Akbar's reign, he was all along anxious to contribute something original and fascinating to the art of history writing. What intensified his desire for originality was a feeling that by writing this work he could partly pay back the debt of gratitude he owed to his imperial master[3]. Thus, desire to build a lasting memorial, consciousness of his own intellectual eminence and an eagerness to present a literary gift as a token of gratitude to his royal master were the main motivations of Abul Fazl in compiling his history.

Abul Fazl worked over the *Akbar Namah* for seven long years —days and night, assisted by a secretariat which analysed, indexd into arranged the data for him. "Many a dark night passed into morning and many a long day grew to eve"—remarks Abul Fazl about the arduous labour he had to put in this work. He revised his draft five times which shows his extreme care in the choice of words and presentation of facts. The *Akbar Namah* is therefore a most studied performance. Regarding his method of work he says: "Since insinuation and rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory, I made various enquiries of the principal officers of the state, and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries; and not contented with humorous oral statements I asked permission to put them in writing and for each event I took the

1. Ibid., II, p. 250; III, p. 407.

2. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 545.

3. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 553.

testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons.[1] It was a stupendous job. One day a friend told him: "Why do you take such pains and why do you write in such a style? Will one out of thousands come into existence who would read this glorious volume aright, and be instructed by the new magic of its method? From whom do you expect the effectual recognition of the Truth? When shall an exalted sage draw the veil from over your work ? 'Twere far better to fold away these new-fangled coverlets and to speak in the language of the age, and to spread a plenteous table for the generality." Abul Fazl was delighted at this friendly criticism but he silenced the critic by his remark: "What have I to do with a crowd?"[2] —Indeed Abul Fazl was not a man of the masses. He was an aristocrat, intellectually and materially, to his finger-tips and was not prepared to cater to popular taste by writing in simple and straight forward style.

Akbar himself took keen personal interest in the day to day progress of the *Akbar Namah.* He always checked and scrutinized the data in order to see how his life-story was being told. Abul Fazl says that the Emperor had ordered that "the materials which had been collected, should be faired out and recited in royal hearing."

But if Akbar was anxious to have a particular type of his image projected on the canvas of history, Abul Fazl himself was no less keen to ascertain his master's point of view even on trivial matters. This he did under the innocent pretext of 'correction' of conflicting data with the help of His Majesty's 'perfect memory'[3]. Thus Akbar's likes and dislikes conditioned Abul Fazl's historical approach and determined his selection of data and interpretation of situations even in their minutest details.

Since political background alone could not do justice to

1. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 225 ; III, p. 413 ; *Akbar Namah*, I, p. 10 ; Beveridge, 31.

2. *Akbar Namah*, Beveridge, II, pp. 555-556

3. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. I, p. 32.

Akbar's multi-faced personality, Abul Fazl prepared a broad canvas on which to draw the Emperor's sketch. He blended religion, politics and society in one complex whole and made it rotate around the person of the king. This intertwined pattern which has been woven by Abul Fazl's scholarly genius is thoroughly original but painfully unreal. Abul Fazl had to use his literary whip and spur in order to make the historical data behave in a particular way. He wanted to answer the question about the differences in Indian religious life in terms of Akbar's achievements and this necessitated an over-all view of religion, politics and society with king as the unifying force. Consequently Abul Fazl had to supply soul and substance to many simple incidents and attitudes of Akbar's life. His political wisdom had to be traced to divine revelations;[1] his political authority had to be invested with 'spiritual leadership' and the dichotomy between religion and politics was to resolve itself before his all-embracing personality which looked after both the mundane and the spiritual affairs of society. This was an ideal situation which Abul Fazl had visualized for the glorification of his master and which agreed in all its details with Akbar's own ambitions. By casting the history of Akbar's reign in that mould, Abul Fazl not only rose above the distinction between *ought* and *is*, but made Akbar move on the stage of history as an Emperor-Prophet. An oft recurring discussion in religious works of the period regarding the respective spheres of a Prophet and an Emperor was, in fact, provoked by Abul Fazl's peculiar delineation of Akbar's character. It cannot be said with certainty if Abul Fazl genuinely believed in Akbar's spiritual powers and religious leadership or he was simply playing to the tune of his master and just trying to chime in with his mood. But Abul Fazl was bent upon lifting Akbar to the pedestal of spiritual greatness. The first chapter of the *Akbar Namah* which deals with the birth of Akbar and gives an account of 'holy manifestations' preceding his birth reads like a traditional superstitious account of the birth of prophets

1. Cf "the wise of the great court well know that this is not to be met with save in the lucid home of the holy heart of a pure spirit who shall have received the light of true knowledge from the Creator without the intervention of human means or earthly aids.' *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 66.

on which credulous minds are fed. It is strange that Abul Fazl who was criticising religious superstition right and left and was condemning the *ulama* for their irrational approach, himself indulged in fabricating a paraphernalia of religious grandeur round the person of Akbar which men less lost in ambition would have felt ashamed of[1]. He says that when Maryam Makani was "pregnant with the holy elements of His Majesty", "a strange light was perceptible from her bright brows."[2] The nurse (Aziz Koka's mother) felt as if a great light approached her and entered her bosom[3]. How ridiculous is the story that the astrologer asked Hamida Banu to delay the birth of the child as the time was inauspicious and the impulse passed off.[4]

The superstitious atmosphere does not end here; it pervades all through his work and is a reflection on Abul Fazl as a historian. "His Majesty", writes Abul Fazl, " by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and detail, from the time he was one year old—when the material reason (*aql-i-Haiwani*) came into action."[5] No amount of the historian's rhapsodical eloquence can make a reader believe in this psychological absurdity.

In keeping with his basic approach of harmonizing religion with politics, Abul Fazl had to introduce religious and spiritual factors where political or economic considerations alone guided the policies of the Emperor. For instance, with reference to the introduction of the Ilahi era he says ; "The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vassals of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it. and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed.[6]" It is interesting

1 *Akbar Namah*, Vol I, pp 37-39

2 Ibid , Vol. I, p. 43.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 44.

4. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 56

5 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 32.

6. *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 30.

to note that in connection with the abolition of the Hijri era as desired by Akbar, Abul Fazl had lamented the 'short-sightedness' of the 'ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion.'[1] This introduces a contradiction in Abul Fazl's thought which runs throughout the book: he expects a secular approach from others, while he himself presents every measure of the Emperor in a religious garb. He banishes the religious influences from politics with one hand and admits them with the other.

Apart from his master's views, which in any case determine the drift and direction of the historian's mind, Abul Fazl had to fix his approach with reference to certain historical traditions. On the one side there was the central Asian tradition of history writing as represented in the works of the Mongol and the Timurid historians, like Wassaf, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Mustaufi and Yezdi, and on the other side stood the Indian tradition, as developed by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Minhaj, Barani and Yahya Sirhindi. The basic difference between these two traditions lay not in their *spirit* but in their *style* of presentation. With the exception of Sadruddin Hasan Nizami and Amir Khusrau, all other Indian historians had written in severe and simple prose. Abul Fazl rejected the Indian and adopted the Mongol tradition which considered hyperbolic language and quaint and stiff phraseology to be the very essence of literary perfection. It is strange that Akbar who had insisted on the use of simple prose in the preparation of *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, approved Abul Fazl's highly ornate style which struck the other extreme.

The roots of both these styles of historical writings—Indian and foreign—ultimately lay in the Iranian traditions of historiography. Here Abul Fazl made some very interesting experiments. The historical conspectus of a Persian historian was limited to the court and the camp. Abul Fazl considered this approach to historical writing inadequate and imperfect, as it was unhelpful in dealing with a monarch whose area of activty and influence extended far beyond politics. Consequently he invoked the help of Arab historiography in order to widen the area of his study. He did not, however, abandon the Iranian

1. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 29.

tradition. He combined the *spirit* of Iranian historiography with the *conspectus* of Arab historiography. But his acceptance of the Arab tradition was partial and limited : the people were admitted into the charmed circle of a historian's study not as a matter of right, as the Arab historians had done, but as a necessity, because without them a discussion of Akbar's multifarious activities would have remained incomplete and insipid. An audience was needed for an oratorial performance, and the people constituted such an audience for a description of Akbar's achievements. Despite its limited implications, Abul Fazl's experiment was very interesting and, of course, in the right direction. Had the successors of Abul Fazl taken the hint from him and developed on those lines, a new school of historical writing, based on a synthesis of the Arab and the Iranian traditions of historiography, would have developed in India. But none after Abul Fazl made such an experiment. The scope of historical writing was slightly extended under his influence—as we find in Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Badshah Namah* and Khwafi Khan'' *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*—but no basic change took place in its character. No historian ever thought of collecting the statistical and other data which Abul Fazl had presented in his book. Shah Jahan was eager to have a historian of Abul Fazl's stature[1] to record the achievements of his reign and the selection of Hamid Lahori was made on that basis but he does not come up to that stature. It fact the use of archival material on such an extensive scale as Abul Fazl had made was not attempted by any other Mughal historian after him.

Abul Fazal's strength lies neither in his approach, which is unreal, nor in his style, which is cumbersome and artificial, but in his conspectus of history. He included all sorts of information in his work "from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pine apple and from the organization of an army to the shape of a candlestick[2]." He no doubt surveyed the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne but his ken extended far beyond the court and the camp. This was in keeping with his basic approach of weaving society, religion and politics into a composite pattern.

1. *Badshah Namah*, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.
2. Jarrett, VI.

Another very significant aspect of Abul Fazl's treatment of the subject is his attempt to survey the history of the period in its Indian context. He observes the principle of Unity and Continuity in his treatment of Indian history. Sometimes his vision extends far beyond that and he begins to think in global terms[1]. He often compares conditions in India with those operating in Iran, Mawara-un-Nahr, Turkey and other countries. He sincerely believed that without an understanding of Hindu philosophy and religion, learning and literature, customs and ceremonials, it was not possible to understand the main currents of political and cultural developments in India. In his preface to the *Mahabharat* he has drawn attention to the social necessity of studying the religious thought and tenets of other cults and creeds. It was with this aim in view that he incorporated extensive details about Hinduism in his *A'in-i-Akbari* which, in the words of Jarret, "crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions and indigenous lore which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind[2]."

While due credit should be given to Abul Fazl for his approach which made him include extensive information about Hindu religious thought and institutions in his book, it should also be admitted that he is deeply indebted to Alberuni for these chapters. A comparative study of Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind* and Abul Fazl's chapters on Hindu thought leads one to the conclusion that Abul Fazl borrowed both the substance and the arrangement of this section from his great predecessor. It is surprising that he did not consider it necessary to acknowledge his debt.

Abul Fazl was undoubtedly one of the great masters of Persian prose but his style is not free from serious defects. His endless metaphors, allegories and allusions lose all meaning in translation and have not much sense in the original. To use a Shakespearean phrase 'he draws out the thread of his verbosity

1. See, for instance, his "Description of the Earth" (*A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol III, pp 29-125).

2. *A'in-i-Akbari*, III, p IX.

finer than the staple of his argument.' His attempt seems to have been to overpower the reader with clever duplication of words rather than to convince him. His rhetoric sometimes gives the impression of being a mask rather than an embellishment.

There were occasions, though few and far between, when he found his own assessment of a situation running in a different channel from the Emperor's, and he very artistically hid himself in a plethora of high sounding words or quietly let out his views in abstract and philosophic language. For instance, he did not like Akbar's connivance at Maham Anaga's putting to death two innocent girls of Baz Bahadur's seraglio while they were in the possession of her son Adham Khan at Malwa, lest they should speak out the truth to the Emperor. Abul Fazl records the fact and immediately afterwards starts praising the high quality of mercy in Akbar. Hidden in this praise is a strong disapproval of the Emperor's action. Similarly one can read between the lines Abul Fazl's disapproval of Husain Mirza's being put to death in Gujarat after his defeat. Sometimes when Abul Fazl pretends the greatest detachment from a situation, his involvement seems deepest. He describes the banishment of Abdun Nabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk "in a calm and statesman-like"[1], manner. There is a studied objectivity in the account; on the face of it, it gives the impression of remarkable control of passions, but it has an air of artificiality about it. It is well known that no love was lost between Abul Fazl and Prince Salim. The latter suspected him of even poisoning the ears of Akbar against him. Abul Fazl's terse reference to Salim's rebellion is another instance of the same attitude.

It is significant that the style of the earlier portion of *Akbar Namah* (i. e. upto the 10th regnal year) is more rhetorical and florid than of the later portion. It may perhaps be due to the fact that Abul Fazl's artificial exuberance of style worked where the achievements of Akbar's reign were not many, or the reason may be that for the earlier portion he had the help of Faizi who scrutinized and revised the draft. Since Faizi was himself writing an *Akbar Namah* on the model of Nizami's

1. Blochmann. xxxviii.

Sikandar Namah, his poetic expressions found their way into it. When Faizi died, Abul Fazl was so deeply shaken that he decided to give up the work. It was at the insistence of Akbar that he resumed the work.[1] The Emperor conferred upon him the titles of *Nadir-ul-Kalam* and *Shams-i-Peshtaq-i-Goyai*[2].

Assessed as a manual of Mughal administration, the *A'in-i-Akbari*, suffers from some very serious defects. The style is absolutely unsuitable to an administrative manual. It gives no idea of the stages of evolution through which different Mughal institutions passed. A chronological background to the development of different institutions would have been of real value to a student of Mughal administration. Besides, Abul Fazl makes no reference to the authors of the various administrative measures. In the pages of the *A'in* and the *Akbar Namah* everything good and great emanates from the mind of the Emperor. The real authors of some very important administrative changes and experiments, like Todar Mal, Shah Mansur and others, are deprived of their due meed and their proper niche in the temple of fame and this is a serious draw-back of Abul Fazl as a historian.

Over and above all this, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's observation that Abdul Fazl gives us an ideal picture "instead of giving us a faithful description of the administration in its actual working,"[3] cannot be ignored.

The *Akbar Namah*, it is obvious, has all the inevitable defects of a government publication. It gives one sided view; it slurs over unpalatable facts; it embellishes the Emperor's character and blackens his enemies. From beginning to end it is full of unmeasured flattery. Abul Fazl's account and estimate of Akbar's enemies is not only uncharitable but often misleading and incorrect. He even shows similar unfairness towards all opponents of the Mughal rulers. He refers to Timur's invasion[4] but avoids scrupulously all reference to his

1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 559.
2. Ibid.
3. *Mughal Administration*, p. 257.
4. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 312.

holocaust. He paints Sher Shah as Sher Khan, the Afghan rebel, and appropriates, or misappropriates, all his achievements to his master. His account of Akbar's Deccan policy is a sorry attempt to justify the imperial action in matters where no justification was possible. His account of the Raushaniya movement and its leaders is partial and meagre. His details of campaigns in which the imperial forces suffered heavy casualties are often misleading. Sometimes he suppressed details available to him, e.g. his account of the death roll of imperial forces when Birbal was sent against the Yusuf Zais is inaccurate. His account of the famine and pestilence of 1595-8 in which, according to Nurul Haq 'the streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal[1]', is 'substantially' false.

In some cases Abul Fazl's observations are nothing more than *ex post facto* deductions or *aposteriori* justifications. His habit of reading back motives, which came into operation later, in earlier episodes of Akbar's reign blurs our historical judgement. Take for instance his statement that the *jiziyah* was abolished in the beginning of the year 1564[2], and the reasons for this abolition were: "The *jiziyah* was collected from non-Muslims in the past because Muslims and non-Muslims were enemies of each other. Now when the non-Muslims are serving the state and have positive faith in the Emperor and following their own religion is simply outward, it does not behove to collect it..... ...the *jiziyah* was collected in the past because the rulers were poor and in need of money. Today when there are thousands of treasures in the Royal Treasury, the Emperor does not need to collect it.[3]" There are a number of historical inaccuracies in this statement. *First*, knowing as we do Akbar's religious beliefs in 1564, it is difficult to accept that such motivations could have been there; *secondly*, Akbar's empire in 1564 comprised of less than 2 provinces (Punjab and most of the parts of the modern Uttar Pradesh), and financially he was not in a position in which Abul Fazl puts him in 1564. *Thirdly*, the very statement about the abolition of *jiziyah* in 1564 needs

1. *Elliot & Dowson*, Vol. VI , p. 193.
2. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 203.
3 *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 204.
4. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 276.

explanation. According to Abdul Qadir it was abolished in 1579. Abul Fazl says in the events of 1579 that Akbar abolished *baj* this year and adds that the orders to the same effect were issued earlier also, but they had proved ineffective[1]. But Abul Fazl does not refer to the orders of the abolition of *baj* earlier anywhere prior to 1579. The whole problem has been confused by Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl's account of those policies of Akbar which were calculated to bring about a synthetic approach and a cosmopolitan outlook, though fairly detailed, do not help one in understanding the spirit of the age in all its aspects. He ignores or briefly dismisses the irritants that obstructed or hindered those policies.

Reference has been made earlier to Abul Fazl's attempt to paint a particular picture of Akbar as a religious leader. Apart from the confusion arising out of this account, his description of some of the major religious experiments of Akbar, is sometimes tantalizing in its brevity and often misleading and partial. The *Mahzar* was a document of great significance as it marks a turning point in the life of Akbar, and the part that Abul Fazl's father Shaikh Mubarak played in drafting it is well known, but Abul Fazl does not mention his name at all in this context. It is difficult to understand the reasons for this omission which cannot be inadvertent or casual. There are a number of similar situations in which for some reason or the other Abul Fazl has refrained from giving full details. But in most cases it will not be difficult to analyse his motives in so doing. Abul Fazl becomes far more interesting and revealing if every situation of psychological complexity in his narrative is traced down to its very roots. It takes time to establish rapport with him, but once it is established Abul Fazl opens his heart to his reader. Notwithstanding his shortcomings—which again are not of an ordinary type—Abul Fazl remains one of the greatest historians of India. "He was an unwearied worker", rightly observes Beveridge, "and when we blame him and lament his deficiencies we shall do well to consider, what a blank our knowledge of Akbar's reign would have been, had not Abul Fazl exerted himself during years of strenuous effort to chronicle events and

1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, pp. 295-296.

institutions. His work has also the imperishable merit of being a record by a contemporary and one who had access to information at first hand."[1]

1. Preface to the *Akbar Namah*; Vol. I, p. 1.

TIPU SULTAN'S COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE PERSIAN GULF (1783-99)

MOHIBBUL HASAN

I. Tipu's Foreign Trade Policy

The policies which Tipu pursued in the Persian Gulf were, for the most part, initiated by his father, Haidar Ali. At the beginning of 1774, Haidar Ali sent an envoy to the court of Karim Khan at Shiraz with the request for a trading settlement in the Persian Gulf. Karim Khan offered Bandar 'Abbas, but it seems that Haidar was not able to take advantage of the offer[1]. However, the relations that were established with the Imam Ahmed of 'Oman led to more fruitful results. In July 1775, the Imam despatched an envoy to Mangalore to find out why the export of rice to Masqat had been prohibited. The envoy was well received by Haidar's representative at Mangalore, who explained the cause of the non-shipment of rice to foreign ports. Next year, Haidar sent a return envoy to Masqat with instructions to sign a convention with the Imam and to remain there permanently as his agent. A house was built for this agent and was known as *Bait ul-Nawwab*[2].

Tipu Sulṭan followed the example of his father, and kept a *Vakil* permanently at Masqat. But in addition to this, in 1785, he established a factory at Masqat, which was an important emporium of trade between India, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf[3]. Tipu also wanted to establish factories at Bushire and Basra but, as we shall see, his plans did not materialize.

Tipu's factory at Masqat was very important, because it was through this that exports from his kingdom were distributed throughout the Persian Gulf, and imports from the Persian Gulf were made into Mysore. The exports were

timber, sandalwood, silk, cardamoms, pepper, rice, ivory and cloth. The imports were saffron-seeds, silkworms, horses, pistachio-nuts, raisins, rock-salt, pearls, sulphur, copper, dates and course chinawares. The saffron-seeds were required for the cultivation of saffron in Mysore, and the silk-worms were required to promote the silk industry. Horses were meant for the army and sulphur was imported for the manufacture of gunpowder. Among the exports, rice was an important article, for whenever its export from Mangalore was withheld, it caused great hardship to the people of Oman. Malabar teakwood was used in the Persian Gulf for the construction of boats and was mostly exported from Calicut. The cloth exported was of different varieties like *dungree*[4], *shila*[5], *khadi nirmali*[6] *and pichchauri raishmi guldar tarpatri*[7] etc. Some of these varieties were manufactured in Mysore, while others were obtained from different parts of India.

Tipu Sultan established a state monopoly in sandalwood, teakwood, black pepper and coconut, but in other articles he not only permitted private trade, he even encouraged it. Thus we find him, in January 1787, writing to certain Armenian merchants that all goods brought by them to the Mysore ports would be duty free, that they would have complete freedom to buy and sell, and that they would be provided with a suitable place of residence and permitted full freedom of movement[8]. Tipu, however, placed great restrictions on the trade of European Companies with Malabar. In consequence, the trade of the English settlement of Tellicherry and the French settlement of Mahe greatly declined[9].

No figures are available of the volume of exports from Mysore to and imports from the Persian Gulf, but they must have been large. From the letter of a broker at Masqat, addressed to the Governor of Bombay, it appears that about five or six vessels, laden with goods, arrived annually at Masqat[10] under Tipu's colours. In addition, there were a large number of smaller vessels and dhows and dinghies, belonging to the Indian and Arab merchants, which plied between the Malabar coast and the Persian Gulf.

Before the conquest of Malabar by Haidar Ali in 1765, the trade between Malabar and the Persian Gulf had been, since

the beginning of the sixteenth century, controlled by the Europeans to the partial exclusion of the Indian and Arab merchants who had hitherto, from times immemorial, held the monopoly of this trade. But Haidar Ali, and after him Tipu Sultan, placed great restrictions on the European trade with Malabar, thereby giving great encouragement to the Indian and Arab merchants. The preferential treatment given to these traders at Masqat and the Mysore ports also gave great fillip to their business. Thus while the Europeans had to pay a duty of 5%, the Indians 8%, and the Arabs and Persians 6½%, the merchants belonging to the Mysore kingdom paid only 4%[11]. Similar privileges were, in return, given to the Imam and his subjects at the Mysore ports. But it must be remembered that the traders from Masqat were not all Arabs. A few like Seth Mao, Jiwan Das and Ratanji were of Indian origin, but had settled in Masqat and were the subjects of the Imam[12]. They were very wealthy, owning trading vessels and having establishments at important ports in the Persian Gulf. Similarly, there were a large number of Indians who lived at Basra, Bushire and other commercial centres, and carried on trade with the Gujarat and Malabar ports.

The organization of the factory at Masqat was based on that of the English and French factories. At the head of the factory was a *darogha*, and under him were *mutasaddis* (writers) and *gumashtas* (agents) and a body of troops. The buying and selling was done either directly by the *darogha* himself, or through a broker. His chief broker for the transactions at Masqat and Bushire was Seth Mao. At Basra his chief broker was Abdullah the Jew, a confidant of the *Mutesellim*. Tipu maintained a brisk correspondence with the *darogha* at Masqat, giving him detailed instructions regarding the buying and selling transactions, and various other matters relating to trade and the organization of the factory. In one of the letters, for example, Tipu writes to Mir Kazim, the *darogha* at Masqat, that the pearls which have been purchased are expensive, and that he should buy them at a cheaper rate from Bahrain. Since the price of sandalwood and pepper is low, they must not be sold until the prices go up. The *darogha* is asked to send ten ship-wrights for the construction of dhows[13]. In a subsequent letter the Sultan fixes the prices at which sandalwood is to be sold. The first quality is to be

sold at 120 pagodas per candy; the second at 100 pagodas per candy ; the third at 90 pagodas per candy ; and the fourth quality at 80 pagodas per candy[14]. In another letter the Sultan instructs the *darogha* to obtain silkworms and their eggs from Qishm island, and send them to Seringapatam, including a few men acquainted with the art of rearing them[15]. Similarly there are letters in which the *darogha* is ordered to buy saffron-seeds and sulphur from Persia, and date-plants from Masqat. Furthermore, he is required to send pearl-divers from Bahrain to help establishing a pearl-fishery on the Malabar coast[16].

II. Tipu's Embassy to Constantinople

In 1786, Tipu sent an embassy to Constantinople comprising Ghulam 'Ali Khan, one of his ablest and most experienced officers as its leader, Nurullah Khan, Lutf 'Ali Khan and Jafar Khan. One of the main objects of the embassy was to establish trade relations between the kingdom of Mysore and the Ottoman Empire. The envoys were required to secure commercial privileges and, in particular, permission to build a factory at Baṣra. In return, the Ottoman subjects would be given similar concessions in any port the Ottoman Government selected. The English Resident, Manesty, and Factors at Basra reported : "We have reason to believe that the embassy to the Porte is for the purpose of obtaining *firmans* to establish factories in the Turkish dominions for selling the produce of his kingdom".[17] The ambassadors were also required to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the Imam of 'Oman and to obtain permission from Karim Khan of Persia for establishing a factory at Bushire. They were further instructed to make a marine survey of the Persian Gulf and to study the geography, the political, social and economic conditions of the important places which they would visit in the course of their journey to Constantinople, and to keep a record of their experiences.[18]

The ambassadors sailed from Tadri, a small port on the Malabar coast at the mouth of the river Tadri, on 9 March, 1786, in four ships. They were attended by a large staff, and carried with them considerable quantities of spices, sandalwood products, various kinds of coarse and fine cloth, jewellery, gold and silver coins of Mysore, four elephants and

two palanquins. Some of these articles were to be given as presents to the rulers of Oman, Persia and Turkey and their high officials, while the rest were to be disposed of at various ports of call. The elephants were specially reserved for the Ottoman Sultan and the kings of England and France.[19]

On the morning of 6 April, 1786, the boat *Fakhr-ul-Marakib*, in which Ghulam Ali Khan was travelling, sighted the hills and spurs of the island of Masira. On the 8th it passed the Ras ul-Had, and on the 11th anchord in Masqat. Khalfan b. Muhammad, the governor of Masqat, received the envoys. He was given two letters from Tipu Sultan : One was for him and the other was addressed to the Imam Said. Since the latter was at his capital, Rustaq, the Khalfan sent the letter to him. On the 26th, the Imam himself arrived at Masqat, and gave instructions to the Khalfan to look after the interests of Tipu Sultan [20]

Meanwhile, the envoys had been able to dispose of some of the goods through the local broker, Seth Mao. The following were the prices of some of the articles at Masqat · sandalwood scent Rs. 10 per seer (ordinary) , sandalwood 57½ *huns* per candy ; cardamoms 15 *huns* per *mann* ; cloves Rs. 110 per *mann* ; betel leaves Rs. 2 per *mann*.[21]

On 25 June, the envoys left Masqat and touched Matrah, situated about 2 miles west of the Masqat town. Here an attempt was made to sell 500 bags of black pepper, but since the market price was low—46 *huns* per candy which Maoji was prepared to pay—they were left in the custody of the broker. The envoys sailed from Matrah on 27 June. They touched the ports of Rumais and Sohar and the islands of Mama Salamah and Larak. They sailed along Qishm island and anchored in its port of Qishm and then off the village of Suzeh. The next place of halt was the island of Hanjam. After leaving Hanjam they anchord off the islands of Kung and Qais, and finally reached Bushire on 23 July.[22] Shaikh Nasr, the governor of Bushire, sent his son and his agent Abul Hasan with a message of welcome. He himself could not come to receive them, because he had to proceed

on a campaign. The envoys were informed that Shaikh Nasr intended to send a mission to Mysore in order to seek Tipu's permission for establishing a factory at Mangalore, and in return to allow him to build one at Bushire. They were requested to recommend his proposal to the Sultan. The envoys accordingly gave letters to Abul Hasan addressed to their master endorsing the proposal.[23] On reaching Basra, they sent a letter to Jafar Khan, king of Persia, that Tipu was anxious to promote trade relations with Persia, and desired that Persian merchants should come to his ports for the purpose of trade.[24]

On 28 July the envoys left Bushire, reaching the island of Kharag on the 30th night. Here cardamoms and black pepper were sold to the agent of Maoji Seth who had come from Bushire. They weighed anchor on the night of 8 August. After they had passed Muhammareh and Darbend, they were received by the high officials of Basra who had been sent by Ibrahim Agha, the *Mutesellim*, with 8 ships to welcome the envoys and escort them toBaṣra on account of the danger from the pirates. The envoys reached Basra on 22 August.[25]

A few days after landing, the envoys wrote to Sulaiman Pasha, that they had arrived at Basra, and that they would set out as soon as they received his reply. On 3 October the letters came from Ahmed Agha, the *Kahya*[26] of Sulaiman Pasha[27], informing that he was glad to hear of their arrival, and that the governor had issued orders to the *Mutesellim* to send them with a escort to Samawah, where troops would be waiting to bring them to Baghdad. On being told of this the *Mutesellim* assured the envoys that they would be able to set out by 25 October. But on account of various reasons their departure had to be postponed again and again. In the first place, the boats in which they were to sail could not be arranged by the Basra authorities. In the second, it was found that the Euphrates route was unsafe because of the refractory conduct of the Khazail tribe.[28] The envoys felt disappointed and angry, blaming the Basra government for placing obstacles in their way and threatening to leave for Constantinople by another route. Luckily, however, news came for Sulaiman Pasha that the Euphrates route

is now safe and that the envoys should be allowed proceed. Accordingly, they sailed with a retinue of 0 men on the 8th December in four boats. But on reaching urnah on the 15th, they were informed by Shaikh Suwaini, e chief of the Muntafiq tribe, then virtually in possession of sra and the neighbouring areas, to return to Basra at once.[29] appears that the Shaikh wanted the envoys to pay him duty the goods they were carrying, and that unless this was done would not allow them to proceed.[30] Moreover, it was not iown for certain as to who was the governor of Baghdad at is time, for rumours were afoot that Sulaiman Pasha had en deposed and in his place Sulaiman al-Shawi, chief of e Ubaid and head of the Shawi family, had been appointed vernor of Baghdad.[31] Owing to these unsettled conditions e *Mutesellim* advised the envoys to return to Basra. ccordingly, they sailed back, reaching Basra on the night 24 December. It was not until the *Mutesellim* was assured at the rumours regarding the dismissal of Sulaiman Pasha ere baseless, and received a letter from the latter ordering him send the envoys immediately to Qurnah where 500 horsemen ould be waiting to escort them to Baghdad that he advised em to set out again. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan also rote to Sulaiman Pasha that Tipu's ambassadors, who had me to discuss matters relating to trade, should be at once spatched.[32]

In the course of their stay in Basra the envoys disposed various articles through Abdullah Yahudi Sewa and Prem, e two agents of Maoji Seth, also helped the envoys in their ansactions There was, of course, a great deal of haggling id instances were not wanting of customers getting the eling of being cheated Abdullah, for example, had irchased some bales of cloth. When he took them to his ouse, he found them to be defective. He, therefore, wanted return them, but Nurullah refused to take them back.[33]

The rates at Masqat and at Kharag had been favourable, it goods had not been sold there, because it was expected iat at Basra the rates would be higher. However, since the tes were found to be lower, Nurullah had to fix the prices at hich the sale could be effected. Black pepper was to be sold 43 *huns* per candy; ginger and tumeric at 30 *huns* per candy;

black cloth at Rs. 1-12 as per *anga*. But since even at these rates it was difficult to find customers, a further reduction of prices was made. Thus black pepper was sold at 39 *huns* per candy.[34]

The envoys left Basra for Baghdad by the Euphrates route about the middle of January 1787. From Baghdad they travelled overland via Mosul and Diarbeker to Constantinople at the expense of the Ottoman government. At the Ottoman capital they were treated with honour and distinction and given public receptions. They met the Grand Wazir and were received by the Caliph, who conferred the title of King on Tipu, and gave for him friendly letters, *khilats*, and presents.[35] But with regard to the question of granting commercial concessions to Tipu in Basra, the Caliph gave vague replies which implied a polite refusal.[36] Thus one of the main objects of mission—the securing of commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire—had failed.

The main cause why the Ottoman Sultan refused to grant Tipu trade privileges was due to his reluctance to displease the British at a time when he badly needed their assistance in frustrating the plans of Russia and Austria for his overthrow. The attitude of the English towards this embassy is not clear. But judging from their relations with Tipu it could have been anything but friendly. Moreover, it must be remembered that by the middle of the 18th century the English had succeeded in eliminating the Dutch from the Persian Gulf and the Indian waters. They had then defeated the French in the course of the struggles lasting from 1740 to 1783, and were thus without any serious commercial rivals either in the Persian Gulf or the Indian waters. They must have therefore looked upon Tipu's plans and activities in the Persian Gulf with deep anxiety. On 5 September, 1786, Manesty thus wrote to the Court of Directors from Basra "The *Vakils* intend to leave for Baghdad in about a month to obtain *firmans* to establish factories in Turkish dominions for selling the produce of his country as he is determined to throw every obstacle in the way of Europeans trading in his kingdom. We think this is a circumstance very material for the Honourable Court to be acquainted with, as we apprehend it precludes all hopes of your servants at Telli-

cherry being able to provide pepper for your homeward bound ships.'"[37] Under the circumstance the English representatives in the Ottoman Empire could not have looked upon Tipu's plans in the Persian Gulf with complaisance. On the contrary, they must have done their best to checkmate them, and for this purpose they must have employed the great influence which they commanded both at Baghdad and Constantinople.[38]

The Treaty of Seringapatam, which concluded the Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92), deprived Tipu of half of his kingdom, and saddled him with an indemnity of 33 million rupees. This crippled his resources and disorganized his finances, thus effecting his plans for expanding foreign trade. Nevertheless, within a few years he succeeded in recovering from the effects of the war and making himself strong and prosperous. On 26 February, 1798, therefore, Tipu sent a trade mission under Mir Abdur Rahim and Mir Ianullah to the rulers of Masqat and Persia. After visiting Masqat they proceeded to Persia. They carried for the king of Persia, Fath Ali Shah (1797-1834), various presents, including ivory, pepper, cardamoms and sandalwood, which were to serve as advertisements for the products of his kingdom. The envoys were to request the Shah for an exchange of some port in order to promote trade relations between the two kingdoms and to send two of his agents to discuss the question. The envoys were received with honour by the Shah, and sent back along with two of his ambassadors, as desired by Tipu. But by the time they reached Mangalore, Tipu had fallen and Seringapatam had been occupied by the English (May 1799).[39]

At the same time that Tipu Sultan sent an embassy to Masqat and Persia, he also sent one to Constantinople, comprising Sayyid Ali Muhammad Qadri and Sayyid Mudar-ud-Din with Husain Ali as Secretary. The envoys reached Basra on 12 October, 1798, but the *Mutesellim*, Ibrahim Agha, detained them at Manesty's suggestion. Meanwhile, news reached Basra of the fall of Seringapatam. Manesty thereupon advised the envoys to give up the idea of proceeding to Constantinople. At first the envoys insisted in continuing their journey, and they were encouraged in this by the *Diwan* of the *Mutesellim* and by the invitations from the Baghdad government However, in the end, realizing the futility of the visit to Constantinople

on account of the death of Tipu Sultan and pressed by both Manesty and the *Mutesellim*, they decided to return to Bombay.[40]

1. *Selections from State Papers, Bombay, Regarding East India Company's Connection with the Persian Gulf*, 1600-1800 Calcutta 1908. Letter No ccv Henry Moore at Basra to Governor in Council at Bombay, 23 April, 1774 Cited hereafter as *Selections from State Papers*

Karim Khan-i-Zand, chief of a small nomad tribe in western Persia, rose to power in 1750 He occupied practically the whole of Persia except Khurasan and made Shiraz his capital He, however, did not assume the title of king, but called himself only as *vakil* or Regent of the blind Shahrukh, the grandson of Nadir Shah

2 Salil b Razik, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman (661 1856)*, English trans G P Badger, pp 170-71 & n 1

Imam Ahmed b Said, who was a merchant and shipowner, founded the Saidi dynasty in 1749 after overthrowing the Yaarabi dynasty which was ruling Oman Ahmed was a powerful ruler and ruled until his death in 1783 He was succeeded by his second son, Said

3 *Selections from State Papers*, Letter No cclvii

4 A kind of coarse cloth

5. Thin white muslin

6 A thick, coarse cloth made in Nirmal, situated in the Adilabad district

7 A piece of silk cloth with designs made in Tadpatri, situated to the north of the Anantapur district

8 Kirkpatrick, *Letters of Tipu Sultan*, No ccccxxv

9 The Pondicherry and Tellicherry records are full of complaints of such restrictions The French tried their best to secure trade privileges from Tipu on the Malabar coast, but did not succeed.

10 *Selections from State Papers*, No cclvii

11 *Waqai Manazil-i Rum*, ff 100a-101b , in *Description de l'Arabie*, p 264 (Amsterdam 1774), the figures slightly vary The Europeans pay 5% , Muslims pay 7½% , and Jews and Banyas 9%

12. Kirkpatrick, *Letters of Tipu Sultan*, No. 146.

13. Ibid., No. cc.

14. Ibid., No. lxxii.

15. Ibid., No. clv.

16 Ibid, No. cclviii ff.

17 Secret Proceedings, January 5, 1787 (National Archives of India).

18. In accordance with the Sultan's instructions the embassy kept a diary called *Waqai Manazil-i-Rum* (A S.B MS. 1678).

19 After finishing their work at Constantinople, the envoys were required to proceed to England and France. But owing to various reasons they could not undertake this part of their journey.

20 *Waqai Manazil-i-Rum*, ff. 4b-5a

21 Ibid, ff 12b-17a *Hun* was a gold coin current in South India; also called *pagoda*, usually about 50 grains in weight but varying in standard and value according to the place where coined. (For details, see Wilson, *Glossary*, p 221, and *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 498-99)

Candy (Marathi *Khandi*) is a measure of weight and capacity, from the Tamil spelling Kandi. Its value varies in different places in south India According to Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore*, iii, p. 26, one candy was equal to 20 maunds

22 *Waqai Manazil-i-Rum*, ff 12b-17b.

23. Ibid., ff. 18b-19a. Shaikh Nasr al-Madhkur belonged to the Matarish Arabs of Oman and ruled Bushire at this time He recognised Karim Khan's suzerainty and was admiral of his Persian Gulf fleet. He died on 11 April, 1789 (Factory Records-India Office-Vol. 18, No. 1520)

24 *Waqai Manazil-i-Rum*, ff 35b-37a *Mutesellim* was deputy-governor of a *sanjak* (district) or of an *eyalet* (province) when more than one were under the rule of one Pasha

25 Ibid, ff 28b-31b

26 *Kahya* is the Turkish version of the Persian *Kat-Khuda*, literally "Lord of the house" or Major-domo Here it means the chief minister in a provincial government under the Pasha. (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 354, *Gibb, Islamic Society and the West*, Vol 1, Part 2, p 200)

27 Sulaiman Pasha was a Georgian freedman of Hasan Pasha, Viceroy of Baghdad. Owing to his abilities he became the *Mutesellim* of Basra in 1765. When the Persians under Sadiq Khan invaded

Basra he defended it with courage But Basra was captured and he was sent as prisoner to Shiraz. He was released after four years. In July 1780 he was appointed Pasha of Baghdad and held that office until his death in 1802 at the age of 82 (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq, 187-220*).

28 *Waqai Manazil-i-Rum*, ff 80b, 87a Khazail, a large tribe which occupied an area extending from Kufa to Samawah and a portion of the adjoining Shamiya desert, are strong and warlike and are all Shiites They were a great source of trouble to the Turkish government because they interrupted communications between Basra and Baghdad by the Euphrates river (*Description du Pachalik de Baghdad*, p. 59, *Bombay Selections* (1600-1800), p. 324)

29 *Waqai Manazil i-Rum*, ff 90a-b Suwaini al-Abdullah was the head of the Muntafiq group of tribes He was at first loyal to the Turkish government, but later revolted and in 1785 occupied Basra But early in July 1797 he was assassinated by a negro slave (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 195ff)

30 *Waqai Manzil-i-Rum*, ff 90a-b

31 Ibid Haji Sulaiman al-Shawi, chief of the Ubaid and head of the Shawi family, was at first on friendly terms with Sulaiman Pasha But later on, jealous at the advancement of Ahmed Agha, a Georgian, whom Sulaiman Pasha made his *Kahya*, he revolted He defeated the Turkish troops and hovered round Baghdad ready to attack it Meanwhile, a sudden rumour spread that he had been appointed Pasha of Baghdad For a time Sulaiman Pasha himself believed it (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 203-04)

32. *Waqai Manzil-i-Rum*, f 106a

33 Ibid , ff 47aff.

34 Ibid., ff 49b-50a

35 Ibid., f. 123a, Kirmani, *Nishan-i-Haidari*, p 328, also F O 78/8-1787, Robert Ainslie to Carmathian (Public Records Office-London)

36 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Vol ii, pp 363-64 It is also clear from a study of the despatches sent by the British and French ambassadors in Constantinople to their respective governments that Tipu's embassy did not achieve all its objects See F.O. 48/8-1787 and F.O . 78/9-1788 (Public Records Office-London), also Affaires - Etrangeres B1448 Correspondence Consulaire-Constantinople (1787-90)-(Archives Nationales, Paris)

37 Factory Records (India Office), No 20, f. 249a

38. Sulaiman Pasha had become Viceroy of the Baghdad province through the efforts of Latouche, the English Resident at Basra; and

later, when news spread of the appointment of Sulaiman al-Shawi in his place, Sulaiman Pasha wrote to the British ambassador in Constantinople to intercede on his behalf with the Sultan. Thus Manesty, the English Resident at Basra, refers "to the very extensive influence which the English enjoy and the very extensive friendship which without exception they now are in with every person of consequence in the country," *Selections from State Papers*, p. 323). Manesty also informs the Court of Directors that "Sulaiman Pasha is partial to the English." (Factory Records (India Office), f 291a).

39 Secret Sundries (Madras Records) Vol 20A (1798), pp 139ff.

40. Factory Records (India Office) : Persia & the Persian Gulf, No. 20, Manesty to Spencer Smith, 1st November, 1799, and Manesty to Wellesly, 27 November, 1799

THE ARABS AND THE ROUNDING OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

The Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz was the first to circumnavigate the southern coast of Africa. He had avoided the Cape of Good Hope and had landed at Mossel Bay in February, 1488, but on the return voyage, he sighted the Cape and named it 'the Stormy Cape'. But King John changed the name to 'Cape of Good Hope', for it gave the promise of reaching India by sea. This task was performed by Vasco da Gama who sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and reached Malindi on the East coast of Africa in April, 1498. Accompanied by the Arab navigator, Shihab al-Din Ahmad b Majid (Ibn Majid), he finally reached Calicut (on the west coast of India) in May, 1498. Although Ibn Majid himself does not seem to have recorded the fact of having piloted Vasco da Gama's boat to India in any of his extant works known to me, we know from a reference to it by an historian of the later period, named. Qutb al-Din al-Nahrwali who mentions Ibn Majid by name in his work *al-Barq al-Yamani fi'l-Fath al-'Uthmani.*[1]

The possible existence of the route to India via the Cape of Good Hope was however known to Muslim geographers and navigators as early as the 11th century A.D. The Arab concept of the Indian Ocean and its limits was dominated by that of Claudius Ptolemy for several centuries after the translation into Arabic of his work entitled *Geography* Accord-

1. Qutb al-Din al-Nahrwali (1511-1582). See *Instructions Nautiques et Routiers Arabes et Portugais des XVe et XVIe Siecles*, par Gabriel Ferrand, Tome III, Paris, pp 185-86 Cf. Leo Bagrow, 'The Vasco da Gama's Pilot', 'Studi Colombiani', vol. III, Geneva 1951, T A Shumovsky, *Tri Neizvestnykh Lotsii Akhmada ibn Madzhida Arabskogo Lotsmana Vasko da-Gamy* Leningrad Moscow 1957, P. 75

ing to him, the Indian Ocean was like "a gulf" bounded on all sides by land, except for the opening towards the East which connected the Indian Ocean with the Pacific. Ptolemy believed that there was a *terra incognita* in the Southern Hemisphere and hence in Ptolemaic cartography, practically the whole of the Southern Hemisphere was covered by land, in such a manner that the east coast of Africa extended right up to the East Indies along the Equator.[1] The concept that from the Encircling Ocean (*al-Bahr al-Muhit*) there emerged two Gulfs (the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean), the former coming out from the South-East and the later from the North-West, and the two finally met at the Isthmus of Suez, was probably present in ancient Iranian geographical theory and cartography. It is reflected in the maps of Ibn Hauqal, al-Istakhri and other Arab geographers belonging to the Balkhi School of Arab geography. These concepts in physical geography were generally accepted by Muslim geographers and dominated their writings at least up to the 11th century A D. However, the Arab navigators of the tenth century who sailed as far south as Sofala on the east coast of Africa and up to China in the East, held views that did not conform to the general geographical theories of the time. Their experiences were different. Al-Mas'udi, the tenth century Arab historian and traveller who made several voyages between Qanbalu Island (Pemba, near Zanzibar), the Persian Gulf and India remarks, 'I have noticed the sailors of Siraf and 'Uman who sail on the Seas of China, India, Sind, Zanj (Zanjibar), Yemen, Qulzum (Red Sea) and Abyssinia were generally never in agreement with the philosophers (geographers) whose opinions we have related on the extent and the measurement of these seas; they also maintain that in certain parts, the extent of the waters has no limits.'[2] Al-Mas'udi believed that the Indian Ocean was limitless towards the Southern Hemisphere, and that there was no sea larger than this one in the inhabited world. He also pointed out that there was difference of opinion among the geographers and the astronomers with

1. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, Tr. by E L Stevenson, New York 1932, Book VII, pp. 159-60.

2. *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jauhar*, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courtielles, Paris, vol II, pp. 281-2.

regard to the 'length' of this Sea (Indian Ocean) from the north to the south but he did not quote them for their authenticity was not established to the experts of this science.[1] It is evident from these comments that by the beginning of the tenth century A.D., the Arab navigators had started doubting the Ptolemaic theory of the existence of an unknown continent in the Southern Hemisphere.

Towards the beginning of the tenth century A.D., some wreckage of boats belonging to the Indian Ocean was found in the Mediterranean Sea near the Island of Crete. As it was believed that there was no communication by water between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean from any side whatsoever, this discovery caused great stir among the Arab geographers, travellers and the sailors of the period. The discovered planks of wood were recognized as belonging to boats that sailed on the Indian Ocean for they were sewn together with coconut fibre. The planks of the boats of the Mediterranean were usually nailed together. Al-Mas'udi who refers to this strange phenomenon, points out that it only indicated that there was water communication between the various seas of the world. According to his conjecture, these planks might have floated into the Mediterranean by taking a long route via the Sea of China, then floating north along the Seas of Korea, Japan and the land of the Turks, they might have finally floated through the (imaginary) Gulf that connected the North Sea with the Mediterranean.[2] It only goes to show how powerful and dominating was the influence of the Ptolemaic theory of the existence of an unknown land in the Southern Hemisphere, for it prevented al-Mas'udi from thinking of another possible route, namely, via South Africa, into the Atlantic, and then into the Mediterranean from its western entrance. This was a more plausible route that the planks might have taken. Abu Zayd al-Hasan al-Sirafi (9th-10th century A.D.) who had compiled various accounts

1. *Muruj*, I, pp 365-66

2 According to the idea prevalent among the Arab geographers and cartographers of the time, "a gulf" connected the Mediterranean with the Encircling Ocean in the North. But this was a mere theory without any physical basis.

of the Arab merchants and travellers in the form of *Silsilat al-Tawarikh*, and was keenly interested in Arab exploration and navigation, has also recorded this event.[1] He seemed to have met al-Mas'udi twice between 915 and 916 A.D. at Basra, once before the latter left for India and a second time, after his return from there, and the two must have exchanged views on this strange discovery.

A century later similar discoveries were made at the conjunction of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean as recorded by Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (C.A.D. 1030). He was however the first to offer a scientific and extremely interesting explanation of this phenomenon. Describing the inhabited quarter of the Earth (the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe), he says that the Great Sea (the Indian Ocean) is situated to the south of the inhabited quarter and is connected with the Encircling Ocean of the East Pacific). Its northern coasts are dry and inhabited, while the southern ones are unknown and unexplored, and none of the sailors sailing on this Sea have ever come to know anything about it, nor have the inhabitants of its Islands passed on any information concerning its limits. The farthest points that the navigators of the Great Sea reach in the West, is Sofala (on the east coast of Africa), and beyond this point they do not sail. In his opinion, the reason for this was that just as the Great Sea (Indian Ocean) had pierced the Northern Continent (Asia) in many points towards the East thereby creating several Islands (the East Indies), in the same manner, as if to compensate, the Land-mass (Africa) had pierced the Southern Sea towards the West. It was inhabited by the *Sudan* (Black people of the West) whose dwellings stretch south of the Equator up to the Mountains of the Moon (the traditionally accepted sources of the Nile). Thus, this Sea at this point enters mountains, high and low valleys and there is continuous ebb and flow of water which is full of commotion. It destroys boats, and as such prevents sailing through it. However, these physical barriers do not prevent the Sea from communicating with the Encircling Ocean (Atlantic) through these channels. Then, al-Biruni mentions a very important

1 *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et a la Chine, Silsilat al-Tawarikh*, Langles and M. Reinaud, 2 vols., Paris, 1845. See vol. II, pp. 87-89.

fact that towards the south and on the other side of the mountains, signs and evidence of the two seas (the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic) being connected with each other (by water) have also been discovered, even though this fact was not actually observed. Thus, the inhabited Land-mass falls within the Seas that encircle it on all sides, being connected with each other[1] Al-Biruni further elaborates the point by saying that the Equator does not form the dividing line between the Land-mass and the Seas. The Land-mass does protrude and enter into the Sea (Indian Ocean) crossing the Equator, for example, at the position of the Waste Lands of the Black People of the West. It has pierced the Sea and reached south of the Mountains of the Moon, although this fact has not been ascertained through actual observation because from the land side, the continent consists of a barren desert and is therefore not traversable while from the sea side, *i.e.* south of Sofala, no boat that has rushed into a headlong peril there, has ever returned safely to be able to inform of of its observations there[2]

It is obvious that the information about the boats being destroyed, must have been gathered by the writers from Arab mariners and navigators. Again, the signs, namely, the wreckage found at the conjunction of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, was a positive evidence of the fact that the two seas were connected with each other Thus, al-Biruni argues that the planks could not have floated along the Pacific, the North Sea, etc., into the Mediterranean, nor through the Suez, for there was no water communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean The only possible route for them was therefore these channels south of the Mountains of the Moon[3] Thus, al-Biruni was the first Muslim

1 *Surat al-Ma'mura 'ala al-Biruni, Biruni's Picture of the World*, ed. Zeki Validi Togan, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 53, p 4. Cf. *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi*, vol. II, Hyderabad 1955, pp 537-38, Abu 'l-Fida, *Taqwim al-Buldan*, ed by M Reinaud and De Slane, Paris 1840, pp. 12-13

2. Alberuni's India (Arabic Text), ed. by E Sachau London 1887 p 135

3 *Surat al-Ma'mura*, p. 64

scientist to assert in very positive terms that there was a sea-passage between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic to the south of the Mountains of the Moon

At another place, al-Biruni points out that human population did not cease south of the Equator or before (south of) the First Clime. It was only sparse and sporadic. Although the heat towards the south of the Equator was scorching, the presence of the seas and the mountains in those regions minimized its effects. While in the Waste Lands of the Black Peoples, there was no vegetation or animal life, there was human population in the Islands facing them (to the south), although these people were not civilized.[1] He further points out that the Sea coming out of the Encircling Ocean (Atlantic) to the West of the Land of the Zanj people, actually originates at the Cape (*al-'anf*, lit., "the nose") called *al-Ra'sun.*[2] It then stretches (eastwards) south of the Equator and opposite to the Lands of the Black Peoples and Sofala. Here the Sun, Moon, and the Planets are posed directly above the Sea and hence the air is light and causes commotion in the Sea. According to his reckoning, therefore, 'the Gulf' that connected the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean, must have been fairly long, and the southern coast of Africa must have stretched from the Cape of *al-Ra'sun* up to Sofala in a crescent-like shape south of the Mountains of the Moon. Al-Biruni's *al-Ra'sun* could be no other than the region of the Agulhas Currents of the modern maps.

A later historian, al-Nuwayri says that according to some writers, between the Indian Ocean (*Bahr al-Hind*) and the Atlantic (*Bahr al-Muhit*), there is a connecting Gulf called the *Sea of al-Zafti* which is 500 *farsakhs* (1500 Arabian miles) long Now, the distance from Sofala up to the Cape of Good Hope along the coast would be approximately 1500 Miles Thus, what is significant about al-Biruni's deductions is that he seems to express serious doubts about the ancient Ptolemaic concept of the existence of an unknown land in the Southern Hemisphere. His map of the Seas has no trace of the unknown

1. *Surat al-Ma'mura*, pp. 62-63.

2 Zeki Validi points out that the *Ra'sun* must be one of the Capes of South Africa, like the Cape of Good Hope, *Ibid*, p. 63, note 3.

land on it and the proportion of the land-mass and the water shown on it differs fundamentally from that shown on the maps of the other Arab cartographers of the time. On his map Southern Africa does not cover the whole of the Southern Hemisphere as it does in the maps of the other Arab cartographers. South Africa in his Map acquires a peninsular shape and is considerably reduced in size.[1] It is rather strange that none of the Arab geographers and cartographers paid any attention to the observations made by al-Biruni on this question. May be their ideas were so deeply prejudiced by the Ptolemaic concepts that al-Biruni's views did not impress them much. Abu 'l-Fida, a fourteenth-century geographer, quotes the whole passage by al-Biruni relating to the Encircling Ocean, but when he comes to describing the Sea, he gives its classical description. Yet, he considered al-Biruni a master of the subject.[2] However, I have come across a solitary example which differs from the traditional representation of Africa on the maps, that is, the world map by an anonymous author of an abridgment of Ibn Hauqal's work preserved in Istanbul. In these maps, the Sea along south-east Africa is shown piercing the continent westwards as far as the Sources of the Nile, and the Sea from the western side of the continent (from the Atlantic) is likewise shown piercing and cutting across the continent up to the Sources of the Nile. Thus, South Africa, on these maps, is shown being nearly detached from the vast land-mass in the Southern Hemisphere which is shown on the maps stretching latitudinally along the Equator up to the East. The known world maps of Ibn Hauqal do not show this detachment We do not know if this departure from Ibn Hauqal's maps was due to al-Biruni's influence or based on some information gathered from the navigators, but the latter is a remote possibility [3]

Ibn Sa'id, the Spanish Arab geographer (13th century), placed the conjunction of the two Seas (the Indian Ocean and the

1 *Kitab al-Tafhim*, Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, MS 5666 (Ms Landberg 63), fol 37 Rects. Dated 635 A.H./1238 A.D. [Cited from *Monumenta Cartographica, Africae et Aegypti*, par Youssouf Kamal, Tom III, 1933, p. 713 (reverse)].

2. Abu' l-Fida, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

3 *Monumenta Cartographica*, etc. Tom. III.

Atlantic) at Longitude 117° 30′ and Latitude 16° 00′ where the Sea was called 'Mer de la Ruine' or 'Mer de Sohayl'. This, according to him, marked the end of the ***Mountain of al-Nidam*** (Repentance) stretching between Longitudes 109° 00′ and 117° 30′, along the coast of Africa. At the foot of this Mountain was situated the town of Daghuta at 109° 00′ Longitude and 12° 00′ Latitude. According to Ibn Sa'id's conception, this town and the major portion of this Mountain lay in the Mozambique Channel, and the Island of Madagascar stretched from west to east, to the north of this Mountain. Boats reaching this Mountain either perished by dashing against it or were carried away by strong winds never to return again. This place according to Reinaud, was the Cape of Good Hope.[1] One can see easily that the extension of the Island of Qumr (Madagascar) and the south-eastern coast of Africa towards the East up to 117° 00′ by Ibn Sa'id, was under the Ptolemaic influence. From the exaggerated longitudes given by him, it would be difficult to identify the exact location described by him, but it may be said that the places described by him fall somewhere in the vicinity of the Agulhas Currents.

By the fifteenth century, the Arab navigators of the east coast of Africa were convinced that from the southern end of the land of Sofala, the African coast turned westwards and then towards the north, finally reaching al-Magharib and the Straits of Gibralter (called by them *Zuqaq*). Thus, the great Arab navigator, Shihab al-Din Ahmad known as Ibn Majid describes his concept of the coast of Africa, before he even piloted the boat of Vasco da Gama from Malindi on the East coast of Africa to Calicut in India in the following terms. He says : When you reach the land of Sofala and 'the gulfs' you pass by, the Island of Madagascar to your left and the land to your right (the coast of Africa as the ships sailed south) discontinues and turns towards the west and the north; this is the place where 'the Darkness' (*i.e.* 'the Sea of Darkness', meaning thereby the Atlantic) begins. From there, the land turns to the 'land of al-Katim' (Kanem). When you pass *al-Katim*, you come to 'the land of *al-Wahat*' (the Oases) near *al-Maghariba* which begins near *Masa*. Leaving this behind,

1. M. Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfeda*, Tom. I, *Introduction Generale ae la Geographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, p. cccxvi.

you arrive at Asifi and finally, Ceuta at the entrance of the Mediterranean.[1] Ibn Mājid was perhaps the first Arab navigator to give a complete description of the south and western coasts of Africa as he conceived it. It was not, however, based on any personal observation on his part, but partly on his own experience of the Sea along the east coast of Africa and partly, on the accounts of the Arab merchants and travellers who visited the kingdoms of Ghana, Gogo, Kanem and other places in the interior of North Africa For this reason we observe that in his description of the coasts of Africa, large portions of West and Central Africa do not figure, for the Arabs never visited these parts. According to his conception, the east coast of Africa turns sharply from Sofala to the west and emerges soon at Kanem (South of the lands of the Black People, *i.e.*, Ghana, etc.) and from there it reaches Morocco It may therefore be said that Ibn Majid conceived South and West Africa as being much smaller than they actually are. It is no wonder, therefore, that when the Portuguese crossed the Cape of Good Hope and he learnt from them that before reaching the Cape of Good Hope they had sailed from North-West Africa southwards continuously for ninety days, he was much surprised. Ibn Majid's description of this coast after the dramatic and daring entry of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, gives a totally different picture from the one given above. This description was obviously based on the information gathered mainly from the Portuguese.

Thus, in conclusion, it may be said that the Arab navigators of the fifteenth century A.D., were fully aware of the existence of 'a sea-passage' or *khalij* (gulf) that connected the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic, in the southern regions of Africa and south of the Mountains of the Moon. It is not unlikely that the Arab boats might have reached the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope, even though they might not have actually rounded it and if they did, they must have perished. At least in the extant Arabic geographical and navigational literature, there is no evidence to prove their having done so. Again, even though their boats at this time were in no way inferior to those

1. *Kitab al-Fawa'id fi'Ulum al-Bahr wa 'l-Qawa'id, Instructions Nautiques*, etc ed. by Gabriel Ferrand, Paris 1921-23, vol. I, p. 64.

of the Portuguese and their navigational instruments were als fairly advanced, there did not exist among them the necessar desire to sail through this *'khalij'* and the spirit of adventur and love of exploration was totally lacking. There wer several factors responsible for the absence of this desir among the Arabs of the time. In the first place, the urg for trade and commerce, usually an important motive behin Arab exploration and adventure during the Middle Ages, wa not sufficiently strong so as to move them to cross this 'Gulf for they had already reached the East and North-West Afric which produced gold and ivory. These commodities wer exploited by them from the very early times of Islam an formed the basis of a flourishing Arab trade in Africa Besides, slave-trade was carried on at several points in th Sudan and Nigeria throughout the Middle Ages and the Ara merchants did not have to penetrate far into the interior c Africa. Again, another factor that deterred the Arab merchan from entering the central or southern parts of Africa, wa the fact that they considered these regions as absolute wast and barren lands devoid of any products. The Arab geogra phers called these regions 'the Waste Lands of the Blac People'. For the sailors the most important reason for nc sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, was the presence of th strong winds and the sea currents there which acted as agen of death for any boats venturing to sail across those seas c for being caught in their midst by mistake.

While the Arab navigators of the fifteenth century had n particular reasons to circumnavigate the southern coast c Africa, the Portuguese navigators of this period had sever motives to do so. Firstly, by the second half of the fifteent century they had built a strong navy, thanks to the effor and imagination of Prince Henry, the Navigator. Secondl what induced them strongly to find a new route to the Ea Indies which would by pass the Islamic political barrier i North Africa and West Asia, was the drive to ensure great safety for their trade in spices and other commoditi imported from the East. Lastly, as Christians they also hope if they succeeded in discovering this route, to surround a though in a pincer movement, the Islamic world both from tl East and the West, and this they were able to do after roundir the Cape of Good Hope and reaching the shores of India.

However, the question that needs to be answered is : What was the source of Portuguese knowledge and information on the existence of a sea-route to India via South Africa ? Like Arab cartographers, the Christian cartographers of the period accepted the age-old concept of the existence of an unknown land in the Southern Hemisphere which is evident from the Christian maps of the period. And the discovery of the new route could not have been an accident. As we have noticed above, the Muslim theoretical geographers were continuously challenged by the Arab mariners and navigators in respect of the Ptolemaic concept until al-Biruni gave a new interpretation and argued, though theoretically, for the existence of a gulf that connected the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic. Considering the extensive transmission of Arab scientific knowledge to Medieval Europe through Spain, North Africa and Sicily, it is not unlikely that theories like the one propounded by al-Biruni were also transmitted during the course of intellectual exchange between the Muslims and the Christians. As far as my knowledge about this question is concerned positive evidence in favour of this hypothesis is lacking, yet it is an interesting problem for further research and investigation.

CYRUS THE GREAT

In Commemoration of His 25th Centenary

S. A. ALI

The ifs of history are a favourite theme with the historians. When it comes, however, to the rise of Kurush, or to call him by the familiar Latin form Cyrus, it is an if with a capital I. I shall attempt in this paper to remove the cobwebs of myths and legends that eclipse the life of this illustrious founder of the Persian Empire, and portray his life and times from the historical angle. The task is by no means easy, for the sources of information are very scanty, and much of what has come down to us through the ages belongs more to the realm of fiction than of fact.

Until a little over a century ago, the only somewhat reliable source of the rise and fall of Cyrus was Herodotus's *Persian Wars* No doubt the history of Cyrus has been written by two other ancient Greek historians. I refer to Xenophon's *The Anabasis of Cyrus* and *Persica* of Ctesias, a Greek physician who lived at the Persian court circa 400 B.C. But while Xenophon himself depends for his information mostly on Herodotus, Ctesias gleans his information about Cyrus from sources about whose reliability much controversy has raged both in the ancient and the modern times, and *Persica* is, therefore, seldom quoted as an authority. We shall therefore have to dispense with both Xenophon and Ctesias and confine ourselves to Herodotus, and with the help of his narrative and recent archaeological finds try to make out, step by step, as far as we can, the story of Cyrus. It is really sad to reflect that the Persians of the ancient and medieval times did not care to preserve the history of the greatest empire of olden days which lasted for nearly three centuries. In the great epic of Firdausi, the *Shahnamah*, we find such names as Jamshed, who is thought to have introduced the solar year, developed the arts and

sciences and discovered wine by an accident when the grapes he had preserved for use had fermented, Feridun, Zal Kai Kaus and Kai Khusro, Sohrab and Rustam, Afrasiab and Isfandiar. Many take them to be historical persons. Even such an eminent scholar as Sir William Jones thought Kai Khusro to be Cyrus, but now we know that Kai Khusro, who is Kawa Husrawa of *Avesta*, and others mentioned by Firdausi are almost all of them legendary heroes. Why the Persians contented themselves with the stories of the mythical figures and were indifferent towards their noble and glorious kings is yet a riddle. In his *History and historical Writing, Vol. I* James Westfall Thompson remarks. "After the Muslim conquest of Persia, Persian historical tradition was badly preserved by Persians. The medieval Persians offer the remarkable example of a people which completely forget its past, and which replace a great history with a perfectly imaginary one. Neither Cyrus nor Cambyses, nor Darius, nor Xerxes were known to medieval Persia except from Greek sources."

The first Persian monarch, who can be treated historically, is Cyrus the great, son of Cambyses. He was born and bred in an unusual way about which Herodotus has a breath-taking story to tell.

When Astyages (which is another name of Cambyses) succeeded to the throne of his father, Cyaxares, at Ecbatana, which is now Hamdan, in 585 B.C., as the king of Media he dreamt that his daughter Mandane became the source of a stream of water which flooded not only the seat of his government but the whole of Asia. Hurriedly Astyages summoned those of the magi who knew the art of interpreting dreams Astyages was greatly appalled when he heard the interpreters say that the dream meant that the child born of Mandane would rule the whole of Asia in his place. Astyages now resolved to marry his daughter not to any Mede but to some one outside Media. Soon after Astyages had given away his daughter to a Persian prince he had another dream that vine had grown from the womb of his daughters which had overshadowed the whole of Asia. The interpreters were again called in and they reaffirmed the interpretation they had given to the first dream. Astyages therefore called his daughter back to his palace, waiting for the child to be born and destroyed. When Cyrus was

born, Astyages called Harpagus, a man of his own house who was very faithful, and asked him to take the child away and slay it. Harpagus, for fear of the wrath of Astyages took the child away, but being a pious man he gave it to a herdsman, with the instruction that he may leave the child in the jungle where, exposed to the chilly winds, the child may die a natural death. By a strange coincidence, the day the herdsman was to take the child to the forest his wife gave birth to a still-child and persuaded him to take the dead child to the forest and leave the one he had with him by her side. The herdsman did accordingly. Cyrus grew up in the herdman's house. When he had entered his tenth year, an incident occurred which revealed to Astyages the truth about Cyrus. One day while Cyrus was playing with some boys of the locality, he was chosen to act as a king and punish those who did not carry out his orders. Among the boys was the son of Artembares, a highly respected man in Media, who was asked by Cyrus to do something and was belaboured when he refused to comply. In rage, Artembares complained to Astyages of the ill-behaviour of the herdsman's son to his own. Astyages sent for Cyrus and the herdsman. While Astyages talked to Cyrus he discerned in his face his own semblance, and threatened the herdsman with dire conseqences if he did not tell whether Cyrus was his own child or of some one else. Terrified, the herdsman let the cat out of the bag. Astyages was greatly enraged to find that Harpagus had befooled him. He called for Harpagus's son, had him cut to pieces and his flesh cooked. Astyages then sent for Harpagus, and asked him to join him at the banquet When Harpagus, had his fill of the flesh that was before him, Astyages asked him whether he could guess what flesh it was. Only when the severed head of his son, which had been kept concealed in a basket, was placed before him did Harpagus know that he was being punished in the most cruel and inhuman way for something he had done, or rather not done, out of his piety. From that day onwards Harpagus bided his time to avenge Astyages

This is the story about the early life of Cyrus as told by Herodotus. Since we have no other record to corroborate or to disprove this story, we have to take it as it is. Herodotus, who lived only a century after Cyrus, was a faithful and painstaking chronicler. There was scarcely any source, oral or

written, which he did not tap to make his writings as precise as possible. Prof. Bury in his book, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, has observed that Herodotus gathered oral traditions from Athens, Sparta, Delphi and other places and had before him the written works available in those days, including those of Hecaleus which was perhaps his main guide for oriental history. No doubt Herodotus has fallen into lapses, not because of any deliberate and planned purpose as some of the ancient historians did, but because of the paucity of material. On the whole however his account of the life and struggles of Cyrus seems to be true. According to Ctesias, Cyrus began life as a *farrash* or sweeper of the palace, but as we have already said we cannot attach any importance to his version.

Herodotus then proceeds to show how Harpagus avenged Astyages. But now we no longer have to depend entirely on Herodotus, since archaeologists have unearthed inscriptions which give some account of how Cyrus expanded the Persian Empire from the Mediterranean coast in the west to perhaps as far as Sindh in the east.

Of the many relics excavated in recent times, the two of great value to us in reconstructing to a great extent the history of the Persian Empire from the time of Cyrus to Darius are the cylinders unearthed at Babylon which are known as the Cylinder of Cyrus and the Cylinder of Nabonidus. These cylinders are in Achaemenian cuneiform inscription. Both the language and the characters were unknown until a German historian Grotefend did the remarkable feat of deciphering them. While the Cylinder of Nabonidus is unilingual, i.e., in old Persian, the Cylinder of Cyrus is trilingual Before we proceed to deduce from these archaeological finds how Cyrus extended his domain, it would be better to give the meaning of the inscriptions on the cylinders.

The cylinder of Nabonidus reads . "I am wise, I know, I have seen what is hidden, (even) if I do not know how to write with the stylus. (his troops) he collected, and against Cyrus, king of Anshan, he marched. As for Astyages, his troops revolted against him and he was seized (and) delivered up to Cyrus. Cyrus (marched) to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, goods, and substance of Ecbatana he spoiled,

and to the land of Anshan he took the goods and substance that were gotten." Nabonidus does not give details of his encounter with Cyrus.

Now we turn to the declaration of Cyrus which is at some places difficult to read, and being fragmentry not much of it can be made out, specially the lines at the beginning and at the end. We are sure however that it is mainly on the weaknesses of Nabonidus. Herodotus tells us that Nabonidus had earned unpopularity because he had brought alien gods to the temple of Bel-Marduk, and this statement is confirmed by the inscriptions of Cyrus. Cyrus says, "I am king Cyrus the Achaemenid, king of totality, great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four world quarters. (In) rituals not worthy of them . daily he blabbered; fiendishly he interrupted the regular offerings ..his hands defiled (even) the worship of Marduk, king of the gods. To his people he used to do evil .. in yokes without relief he ruined them all...the people of Sumer and Akkad were like corpses. Their faces became changed, they no longer paraded in the squares, one saw happiness no more." These inscriptions, which Rawlinson has embodied in his *Cuneiform Inscription of Western Asia*, go on to say that Marduk, who was seeking a righteous prince, was greatly happy when Cyrus entered Babylon and overthrew Nabonidus. Marduk blessed Cyrus and made the Western kings bring tribute to Cyrus and kiss his feet. Cyrus then packed off the gods that had been brought to Babylon by Nabonidus, and also gathered the foreigners and having ended their state of captivity, sent them back home.

We now turn to the events that followed after the son of Harpagus had been hacked into pieces, and Harpagus was waiting impatiently to pay Astyages in the same coin.

Harpagus opened up correspondence with Cyrus, and incited him to revolt against Astyages with the assurance that he will win adherents among the distinguished Medes. When the Persians stood in revolt against the Median monarch, Astyages summoned Harpagus to give him instructions to quell down the rebellion with the help of the army. But before the Median army could find time to do so, Harpagus had informed Cyrus of the plans of Astyages and Cyrus hurriedly

prepared and crushed the army. Astyages was overthrown and Cyrus was now the ruler of Media also.

The adjoining kingdom of Lydia, where Croesus—who was first to mint gold coins and symbolizes riches—reigned, was now not difficult for Cyrus to conquer. But we have good authorities that Cyrus abstained from attacking Lydia. It was Croesus himself who, in alliance with Babylonia and Greece, was about to attack Cyrus when he was forestalled. Why Croesus did so is told by Herodotus His story is on the face of it trustworthy.

Croesus was still mourning over the loss of his son when the news was conveyed to him of the overthrow of Astyages by Cyrus. Croesus was afraid that his monarchy was now at stake because the rising youth of Media would find it easy to attack and conquer Lydia because there was some unrest among the people. Before attacking Media, Croesus sent his men to the oracle at Delphi with offerings of gold and silver and sacrificial beasts to ask whether the time was opportune for him to wage war against the new Persian king. and also whether he should strengthen his army by allying with the other powers. The Delphic oracle gave its verdict that waging war against Media wauld result in the destruction of a great empire

Consulting oracles in every important matter was a common practice in those days There were shrines, like the shrine of god Apollo in the island of Delos and at Delphi, which were maintained not by any one State, but by a number of them. These States, called Amphictyonies, looked to the protection of the shrines, guaranteed the safety of the pilgrims, maintained the roads to them and carried out all necessary measurers to see that the shrines were intact and there was a regular flow of the votaries.

When Croesus, therefore, had consulted and propitiated the god at Delphi, and had received an ominous answer which he misinterpreted, he gathered his forces and was ready to march against Cyrus. What a wise Lydian named Sandanis advised Croesus is worth quoting here in the words of Herodotus : "You are about, king, to make war against men who wear

leathern trousers, and have all their garments of leather ; who feed not on what they like, but on what they can get from a soil that is sterile and unkindly ; who do not indulge in wine, but drink water ; who possess no figs nor anything else that is good to eat. If, then, you conquer them, what can you get from them, seeing that they have nothing at all ? But if they conquer you, consider how much that is precious you will lose : If they once get a taste of our pleasant things, they will keep such hold of them that we shall never be able to make them loose their grasp. For my part, I am thankful to the gods, that they have not put it into the hearts of the Persians to invade Lydia."

There is indeed evidence that the Persians led a life of austerity and possessed no great treasure. But the advice Sandanis gave to Croesus was futile. Croesus went ahead with his plans. The armies of Croesus and Cyrus clashed at Peteria, and Croesus beat a retreat. Cyrus followed his steps and there was a fierce battle outside the Lydian capital of Sardis. Harpagus who was now with Cyrus suggested a device which proved very effective in breaking up the cavalry of the Lydians which was their main strength. The camels who were at the rear carrying provisions for the army were immediately unloaded and brought at the front against the cavalry of the Lydians, with the soldiers wearing the horsemen's accoutre. The Persians were then ordered to slay any Lydian they could find except Croesus. The reason given by Herodotus, why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy's horse, is that the horse has a natural dread of a camel and cannot stand the sight or the smell of the animal. That this is so is testified by Sir Percy Sykes in volume I of his *A History of Persia* who says, "I recollect most vividly that some thirty years ago a young Australian horse I was riding literally roared with fright and nearly collapsed under me upon seeing, or more probably smelling, a camel for the first time." After the battle had raged for 14 days Sardis fell to Cyrus and Croesus was taken prisoner. Herodotus tells us that after Croesus had been captured, a big pyre was raised by the order of Cyrus and Croesus was placed on it to be burnt. Before the pyre was afire Croesus was heard murmuring something. "Cyrus caught the sounds, and bade the interpreters inquire of Croesus who it was he called on. They drew near and asked him, but he held his

peace, and for a long time made no answer to their questionings, until at length, forced to say something, he exclaimed, "One I would give much to see converse with every monarch." Not knowing what he meant by this reply, the interpreters begged him to explain himself; and as they pressed for an answer, and grew to be troublesome, he told them how, a long time before, Solon, an Athenian, had come and seen all his splendour, and made light of it; and how whatever he had said to him had fallen out exactly as he foreshowed, although it was nothing that especially concerned him, but applied to all mankind alike, and most to those who seemed to themselves happy. Meanwhile, as he thus spoke, the pile was lighted, and the outer portion began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Croesus had said, relented, bethinking himself that he too was a man, and that it was a fellowman, and one who had once been as blesssed by fortune as himself, that he was burning alive; afraid, moreover, of retribution, and full of the thought that whatever is human is insecure. So he bade them quench the blazing fire as quickly as they could, and take down Croesus and the other Lydians, which they tried to do, but the flames were not to be mastered.

"Then, the Lydians say that Croesus, perceiving by the efforts made to quench the fire that Cyrus had relented, and seeing also that all was in vain, and that the men could not get the fire under, called with a loud voice upon the god Apollo, and prayed him, if he had ever received at his hands any acceptable gift, to come to his aid, and deliver him from his present danger. As thus with tears he besought the god, suddenly though up to that time the sky had been clear and the day without a breath of wind, dark clouds gathered, and the storm burst over their heads with rain of such violence that the flames were speedily extinguished. Cyrus, convinced by this that Croesus was a good man and a favourite of heaven, asked him after he was taken off the pile, "Who it was that had persuaded him to lead an army into his country, and so became his foe rather than continue his friend?" To which Croesus made answer as follows, "What I did, O king, was to thy advantage and to my own loss If there be blame, it rests with the god of the Greeks, who encouraged me to begin the war. No one is so foolish as to prefer peace to war, in which,

instead of sons burying their fathers, fathers bury their sons. But the gods willed it so."

The historians are not unanimous in accepting this part of the story by Herodotus. Some of the eminent historians including *Sir Percy Sykes* are of the opinion that Croesus himself had built the pyre and had tried to set it on fire, but was spotted out in time and prevented from committing suicide this way. Anyway Croesus was treated benevolently by Cyrus and served perhaps for three decades in the court of Cyrus.

Lydia thus conquered, Cyrus moved on towards Babylon. There was for quite some time discontent amongst the Babylonians because of the policies, specially the religious policy, which its ruler, Nabonidus, had adopted. In the temple of Bal-Marduk he had introduced gods from Ur, Uruk and Eridu. This had disturbed the priesthood with whom lay much of the power. Seeing that a rebellion was brewing in Babylon, piece-loving Nabonidus was prepared to bring about calm and quiet. When therefore he saw that the empire of Cyrus was soon approaching his borders he seems to have made way for Cyrus.

Not only were the Babylonians discontented with the rule of Nabonidus, but the Jews also were waiting to welcome one who would liberate them from their captivity. They expected their liberator any day because their scriptures had foretold his coming. In the Bible we read, "That saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure : even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built ; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him ; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates ; and the gates shall not be shut. . I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways : he shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of hosts." (Isaiah 44 : 28 ; 45 · 1, 13).

And indeed when Cyrus had conquered Babylon, he built the temple of Jerusalem and repatriated the Jews.

Cyrus also conquered the Greek City States. The one great power of those days which did not come under his rule was Egypt.

Cyrus then left for the east and his last days are shrouded in mystery. It is said that he had pushed the borders of his empire to Afghanistan, and some think even beyond, and had established himself as one of the greatest rulers with keen foresight.

The story given by Herodotus about the last days of Cyrus, though unauthenticated, may be cited. After conquering Babylon, says Herodotus, Cyrus desired to subjugate Massagetae—a warlike nation dwelling "towards the rising of the sun" and regarded by many as a Scythian race. At that time the Massagetae were ruled by a queen, named Tomyris, who had succeeded to the throne of his deceased husband. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her conveying the wish that he wanted to have her as his queen—an offer which Tomyris declined thinking that it was not she that he was after but her kingdom. The soldiers of Cyrus and Tomyris met on the battlefield and Cyrus was among the slain. Of the many accounts of the death of Cyrus which Herodotus could have, this one seemed to him most trustworthy. However there are reasons to believe that this story too may be a piece of fiction as the others.

We shall now try to sum up the character and attitude of Cyrus. Herodotus notes : "Persians say Darius was a huckster Cambyses was a master, and Cyrus a father; for Darius looked to making a gain in everything ; Cambyses was harsh and reckless ; while Cyrus was gentle, and procured them all manners of goods." Herodotus also quotes Darius as saying that "no Persian ever thought himself worthy to compare with Cyrus." Cyrus indeed was worthy, and very rightly called 'father' by the Persians.

The warring tribes of Persia—Maraphians and the Maspians, the Achaemenidae from which came the Persian kings including Cyrus himself, the Panthialaeans, the Derusiaeans, the Germanians who were engaged in husbandry, the Daans, Mardians, the Dropicans, and the Sagartians, who were

nomads—were all brought togethers under the strong rule of Cyrus, and Persia was for the first time enjoying a peace which they had not known before.

Within a short span of a decade—from the year 549 B.C. when Cyrus declared himself to be the King of Anshan, to October 29, 539 B. C. when he entered Babylon,—he was reckoned as the greatest ruler. Subjugating so many lands with such little opposition speaks eloquently of his great ability as an administrator and as a unifying force.

We shall have something to say about his religious beliefs by and by, but here we can note that by sending the Jews back to Jerusalem and granting complete freedom of worship to the much dissatisfied priests at the temple of Balmarduk he had shown an extraordinary broadmindedness and the capacity for religious toleration.

He was very wise and quick-minded. There is many an anecdote of his wisdom, sagacity and wit. For instance, when the Indian Greeks, who had declined to help Cyrus while he fought with Croesus, came submissively to Cyrus after Sardis had fallen, Cyrus replied to them in these words, "A fisherman wished the fish to dance, so he played on his flute ; but the fish kept still. Then he took his net and drew them to the shore, whereupon they all began to leap and dance. But the fisherman said 'A truce to your dancing now, since you would not dance when I wished it.' "

Xenophon's comment on Cyrus as a ruler in the *Cyropaedia* is that "He was able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world that he astonished all, and no one attempted anything against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they over wished to be governed by his opinion." In fact not only Herodotus and Xenophon, but all ancient Greek historians and the historians of the Middle Ages who ever wrote about Cyrus had a very high place for him in the scrolls of the rulers and conquerers. We have already cited three verses from the Bible about the coming of Cyrus, and there are more.

As for the religious attitude of Cyrus, he was quite diffe-

rent from his own men. The national religion in his time was the cult of Ahura Mazda. But it is obvious from the writings and inscriptions of those days that he departed from the practice of worshipping Ahura Mazda as his followers including Darius had done. In a bas-relief at Bisutun, Darius is shown raising his right hand in adoration to Ahura Mazda who is represented overhead. Ahura Mazda, which literally means 'the knowing one, the wise Ahura, has been called in the Pehlawi books 'the Being Par Excellence, the One who was, who is and who shall be, the Pure Intangible spirit, the spirit of spirits.' Cyrus was the first king to see the cult of Ahura Mazda spread in his kingdom. But he was much above the cult in vogue in his days. "He was," says Ivar Lissner in *The Living Past*, "A truely broadminded man, and he may have guessed that, outside his own religion and apart from Ahura Mazda, a God ruled the world whom he did not yet know. It is certainly no more fable that it was this particular Cyrus who rebuilt the ruined temple of Yahwah in Jerusalem for the Jews."

In the holy Quran there is mention of a personality called Dhu'l-Qarnain.[1] Until the first quarter of this century the exegetes had taken Dhu'l-Qarnain to mean—Alexander the Great. Historical proofs however were against them in every respect. Maulana Mohammad Ali of Lahore and the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were the first to point out, and very rightly so, that Dhu'l-Qarnain was not Alexandar the Great but Cyrus the Great. Here we need not go into the mass of details given by either of them to prove that Zul-Qarnain was no other than Cyrus. But as a further proof we might mention two important points which both these scholars have overlooked. One is the mention of a road which Cyrus followed. We read in the holy Qoran, Sura XVIII, Verse 85, فاتبع سببا and he followed the road. Now this road is the very road of which Herodotus speaks. This royal road which stretched from Susa to Sardis, was 1615 miles long. The other point is the puzzling phraseology in verse 90 of the same Sura which says. حتى اذا بلغ مطلع الشمس وجدها تطلع على قوم

"Until he came to the rising place of the sun and found the

1 See the author's paper on Dhu'l-Qarnain in the Proceedings of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists.

sun rising on a people......" No commentator so far has been able to explain it properly with historical evidence. When we see however that Herodotus in book I Chapter 201 speaks of "A war-like nation dwelling *towards the rising of the sun* and regarded by many as a Scythian race,"[1] our bewilderment vanishes, and we can perceive that the holy Qoran is dealing with historical facts and not with fiction. As a further proof of the contention of Zul-Qarnain being Cyrus, it might be added that Yajuj or Gog mentioned in the holy Qoran whom *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* considers to be the Scythians, did not exist after Cyrus. The question therefore of the Gogs being repelled by Alexandar the Great would be an anachronism.

What greater proof of the greatness of Cyrus can there be than that he has been described by both the Bible and the Qoran as a righteous man ?

He was sagacious, just, magnanimous, brave and comely, lofty in his ideals, simple and austere in his living. He did not keep himself aloof from his subjects as others before him had done. He believed that one had no right to rule unless one showed oneself more capable than others. As for his simplicity, there is a story that one Artembares came to Cyrus when he had overthrown Astyages, and said, "O Cyrus, come now, let us quit this land wherein we dwell—for it is a scant land and a rugged—and let us choose overselves some other better country. Many such lie around us, some further off : if we take one of these, men will admire us far more than they do now. Who that had the power would not so act ? And when shall we have a fairer time than now, when we are lords of so many nations, and rule all Asia ?" Cyrus listened to the counsel of Artembares and his companions, and then told them that they could do so if they wished, and added that there was no region which produced delightful fruits and at the same time men of a warlike spirit. Soft countries give birth to soft men.

The theory that hard conditions produce stalwarts, dyna-

1. *The Greek Historians* by Godolphin, published by Rand-one House, New York, 1942.

mic people, has been remarkably well elaborated by Pı A. J. Toynbee in his voluminous *Study of History.*

Plato, in his *Laws*, notes that because Cyrus used ł honoured all the talent which he could find, the nat waxed great. But his successors who lacked his quali were ruined. "Evil life is generally led by the sons very rich and royal persons. After Cyrus, his success became used to soft living and the Persian Empire ‹ integrated."

Herzfeld, digging at Mader-i-Sulaiman in 1928, about miles from Shushtar, discovered the ruins of the palace Cyrus, called after his tribe Pasargadae. There stands tomb even to this day, though the golden sarcophagus l long been recovered, reminding us of the greatness of Cyı about whom Ivar Lissener observes : "The statesmen of ‹ own day could learn a great deal from Cyrus. He may hı lived 2500 years ago, but it seems fairly apparent that intelligence of politicians has not increased one jot since t day."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arberry, A.J. . The Legacy of Persia
Ball Light from the Ancient East
Browne : A Literary History of Persia
Bury, G.B. : The Greek Historians
Darmestetar, James : Vendidad (Sacred Books of the East Series)
Davids, Mrs. Rhys : Gotama the Man
,, Indian Religion and Survival
Dentan . The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East
Eliot, Sir Charles : Japanese Buddhism
Firdausi : Shahnamah
Hastings, James : Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics (Human Sa fice : Iranian)
Henning, W.B. . Zoroaster : Politician or Witch-Doctor ?
Herodotus : The Persian Wars
Herzfeld : Altpersische Inschriften
Jowett : The Dialogues of Plato
Lissener, Iver : The Living Past
Lyon, D.G. : Assyrian Manual
Pike, Royston : Encyclopaedia of Religion and Religions
Rawlinson : Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western India
Sykes, Sir Percy : A History of Persia

Thompson : The History of Historical Writings
Toynbee, A.J. : A Study of History
Wells, H.G. : The Outline of World History
Xenophon : Cyropaedia
Zaehner, R.C. : At Sundry Times
,, Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma

RISAIL-UL-IJAZ OF AMIR KHUSRAU AN APPRAISAL

S. H. ASKARI

Though the early period of Muslim rule in India is not destitute of historical books, these termed chronicles, are mostly records of political developments, dynastic changes, wars and conquests, and they contain but little about economic factors, civil government and administration, and especially concerning the life and conditions, progress and decadence in cultural patterns, of the people. Sometimes careful and painstaking gleanings from purely literary and non-historical works repay the labour and energy spent thereon, and prove helpful in historical investigations. The information gathered therefrom though scanty, incomplete, dis-connected, uneven and fragmentary, not unoften adds something to our existing knowledge and may provide corrective and corroborative evidence about men and matters of the past. A student interested in social history, a comprehensive and authentic work whereon is still a desideratum, cannot afford to ignore any source-material, and evidence, literary, religious, hagiological[1], numismatic, epigraphic or based on foreign accounts which throw side lights on social organisation and institutions, varied social elements ranging from the highest to the lowest, social usages, and ways of living, manners, customs, beliefs, cultural patterns and cultural performances.

It may be argued that the need of historical accuracy cannot be fulfilled by works written in a rhetorical, exaggerated, over-dramatised and highly flown style, and one needs unimpeachable evidence to reconstruct life in early medieval times in India. There is no denying the need of very cautious and critical approach and carefully weighed conclusions from isolated incidents and allusions to contemporary men and events found in works full of colourful literary devices and written apparently to demonstrate the author's literary abilities and

accomplishments. But it has to be admitted that though the literaity portraits cannot compete with handy manuals of factual information, yet in the field of social history, they are not absolutely negligible, for the ornate picture that emerges gives perhaps some new and more accurate delineation of certain aspects of social life than is found in official records and chronicles. Such works were not command performances and suffered from little or no inhibitions.

Dr. Wahid Mirza[2] was the first scholar to draw our attention to the "plenty of things scattered in the pages" of the ponderous volumes of *Risail-i-Ijaz-i-Khusravi* (5 in number)that" are both interesting and instructive". He found in them "some useful bits of information about the social conditions, the state of learning, the scholars, the sciences, and political atmosphere of the age." He also refers to some important items concerning the poet's biography. "The late Dr. Muhammad Ashraf went further in his appraisal of this vast work and in his utilization of matters relevant to the subject of his valuable book.[3] He wrote about its contents that "they yield interesting and instructive information of a varied character, besides many graphic descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and morals." One who has the patience to go through the book will agree with him that in it "the spirit of the author has a free and unfettered play." Some of the epistles and discourses of Amir Khusrau in the *Risail* have been already utilized by the present writer, and this paper and some others which may follow may be taken to be a supplement to the studies already offered to the readers.[4]

The problem of dating the book and documents and of the credibility of Amir Khusrau's information are not as easy as Dr. Mirza would have us believe. He has been misled by the dates given on pp. 342 and 167 of the 4th and 5th *Risalas* respectively. He writes that "this voluminous work had been completed in 710 A. H. when the author was nearly 70 years old", and also that "there are some genuine letters that bear dates". Khusrau writes at the end of the 5th volume, "the pen of the writer is like the swift-running Arabian stead of 70 years ; still there are two teeth left, but everyday there is a faster blackening of both". A little later he gives the

chronogram '*Zebi*' and '*Tarsil*' which yield the year A.H. 719. But in the preface of the Ghurratul[5] Kamal he gives his correct age which was 34 in A.H. 685. Thus he was born in 651 and was 68 and not 70 in A.H.719. His scribblings continued till two years before his death which happend in A.H. 725, for it comes out in the chronogram given in an epistle by adding the letters of '*Jau*' and '*Gandum*' to that of '*Sare Kha*', that is the letter '*Khe*'. The first is devoid of date, and the third Risala has only two dates A.H. 707 and 708, and of the dated pieces of the 5th Risala only one has A.H. 702 and the rest are between A.H. 684 and 687, indicating that they are the earliest of the whole lot. Only two of the 29 pieces of the second Risala are dated 690 and 697 and the remaining range between A.H. 700 and 716. As regards the 11 dated pieces of the 4th volume only that at the end, mistaken by Dr. Mirza as the date of the compilation of all the four volumes, has A.H. 682, and the rest except one (of A.H. 723) covers the period from A.H. 702 to 716.

This (exceptional) document of some importance and supposed to be a grant by way of *Inam* (gift or assignment of a rent free land) to a warrior chief, described also as "professional village husbandman" is as follows .—I have ordered all the cultivators who break the earth and put the seed therein that they, with the help of natural rains, should grow and produce pearl-like grains. They who are as numerous as the particles of sands, have been made to enjoy my favours and protection so that they can maintain cultivation in proper condition, and I nurse and encourage them in these respects. I have also decreed an Inam grant from the beginning of Rabi, 723, of as many as ten units of ploughable land (Dah-i-Juft[6] wanan)) in the environs of village Dhulkoot to Amir Sipahsalar, favourite of the king .. .. .Harisuddin Dahqan-i-Zamin-dawar...so that out of what he gets as proceeds from that barren (short) land he may devote something by way of charity (*Tasadduq*) to the sepulchres of those destitute but pious people whose dishevelled hairs are loaded with dust, who have only two sheets of cloth to cover their body, and who enjoy such high spiritual position that whatever they swear by God is made true by God" (IV 103-4). The *Risail* is replete with analogies, similies, puns and riddles, and in this piece all the words are connected with and derived from land. As

this is the only, though a literary form, of a land grant or *inam* of the 13th century available to us we cannot ignore it. It ends with the hope that the sky-high land might be of some help to the donee by providing for him (in future) a magnificent hall (*Rawaq*) and for the populousness of the edifices of his kingdom. This shows it to be a charitable grant.

Some of the dated entries such as that of 5th *Shawwal*, 680, of the *Fath Nama*[7], composed by our author who had accompained Balban's expedition to Lakhnauti (V5-14) are genuine and valuable, but this cannot be said about others. In some cases what we find in the *Risail* is nothing but mere conjecture about dates and facts and parts of the contents of some letters are definitely wide of the truth.

As an example we may reproduce here a letter in which fact and fiction go together, and the entry recorded does not indicate the correct date. It is addressed to "Nasirul Mulk Sirajuddin Haji Arizul[8] Juyush" and occurs on pp. 56-60 of the second *Risail.* Barani frequently refers to Khawaja Haji Naib (deputy) Ariz-i-Mumalik, who was sent always with Malik Kafur on the southern expedition to Deogiri, Warangal, Dhur Samander and Maabar in A.H. 708, 709 and 710 respectively. He says that the country of Deogiri was laid waste and Ramdeo was carried to Delhi with rich booty "Khwaja Haji was to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies and for securing the elephants and spoils". Now let us see how Amir Khusrau describes the first expedition to Deogiri. Malik Kafur mentioned in another[9] letter, which is supposed to have been written by the Emperor to his son, Farid, containing certain instructions, does not figure in this letter and the whole credit for the campaign appears to have been given to Haji. We are told that the king entrusted from the first the task of mustering and looking after the affairs of the royal troops to him so that he may perform the adventitious, emergent and essential duties efficiently. None else was deemed so competent for the unique office and worthy of the title of Ariz (muster-master) and Nasirul Mulk, and it is this which made the victory inevitable. The infidels were killed in large numbers as camels are sacrificed on the occasion of Haj. The group of infidels put up a stiff fight to show their fortitude. They come forward to display

their weapons like the mouth of the snakes and their pronene: to infidelity made them dart their arrows towards the chand lier of *Cibla* ; but fortune ultimately favoured the troops Nasirul Mulk, as the enemies were burnt like moths in tl fire of hell. Those who turned their face towards the hou of God, recited the exalted formula, promised to assist tl helpers of the faith in keeping the land of Islam burning ar throwing the burning wicks in the temples, were spared fro the wrath of the Haji. Those who did not do so were treat like the Mongols and had the chains put around their necks. was a proof of the victory of the Solomon of the King that l had entrusted the task of breaking the idol of Deogiri ai helping the cause of the Hanafi faith. The elephants gigantic size were directed towards the camp of the Haji wit out much stir. The writer has learnt from the informers camp about the number of temples of the Hindus which we burnt by that lamp of truth. They have also reported th when the troops of the Rai of Deogiri heard the bugles sound from the victorious camp they were demoralised. Ramd and his followers of Deogir were ordered to take refuge wi and find relief in the camp of Sirajul Haque (Khawaja Haji)".

As the noble virtues of the Haji, who is so much favour by the helper of the commander of the faithful, are too ma to be described it is better that I should confine myself only a petition of mine which has been issued from the most respe ed caliph, al-Mustansir Billah, for the despatch of horses, ar it is hoped that the lamp of truth would have communicat this matter with verbal warmth to Ziyauddaula, suggesti also and at the same time that on the occasion of the bran ing[10] of the horses in the Diwan of Ariz, he should help m the writer, as far as he can. Such a help would be like tl performance of the Haj. I, who am a neighbonr of the exalt Khawaja Haji expect much help from him and hope that n request would be fulfilled at the first instance and I m return to my humble house with an order for Ziya (Ziyaddaul dated *Zilhijja*, 702. (II 56-60)

Apart from other things, the date and name of the Calip are obviously wrong. The Abbasid caliph of this name w the last but one of the long line and he ruled from 623=12 to 640=1242. There was a Cairo Caliph of this name but l

came in 659=1261. Amir Khusrau has confused him with al-Mustakfi Billah who flourished[11] between A.H. 700 and 740.

A short extract, though undated, refers to an incident that happened in A.H. 651-652 in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud which is the earliest mentioned in the *Risail* and it also shows the author's self-imposed restraint and profuse use of literary artistry when dealing with some historical personalities who were subjects of controversy. Imaaduddin Rayhan, the Wakil-i-Dar[12] of Sultan Mahmud had temporarily ousted and eclipsed Balban before his own dismissal and removal to Bahraich where he was done to death in 653. The Indian born noble had excited the jealousy of all the members of the Turkish party including the historian, Minhaj Siraj. It also tells us about the wide-spread fame of the martyr-saint[13] of Bahraich of the Ghaznavid period, Masood Salar Ghazi, who had become more of a legendary figure rather than a historical personality in the 13th country. "The fragrance of the aloes-wood of his mausoleum at Bahraich had made the whole of Hidustan aromatic". Sumbul Bihari[14], the addressee, who was having very good and enjoyable time, along with his friends and companions near the mausoleum, was advised to continue his stay there and give up the idea of going to Kala Khari[15] (Kile Khari) of Delhi, because Rayhan, the rebel, had gained great ascendancy there and had become proud and arrogant. He was openly saying that Sumbul Bihāri had turned against him and he would soon issue orders to destroy him, root and branch. The addressee was advised to make no move out of the sacred place he was occupying if he considered his position to be strong and unshakeable (II 55-56).

It is interesting to see what Amir Khusrau says about his own composition. He writes that "the authors whose works give them an eternal life are learned theologians, wise philosophers and poets (IV 8-9). But the speculative writing of poets, in prose or poetry are fanciful premises, unlike the rules and principles of science and philosphy which are based on reason, are real and unalterable. The thoughts (things shaped by the mind) of my humble self are ingenious reflections which are capable of being changed, corrected and refuted (V-169). Elsewhere (IV-22) he writes, "As I am the Solomon of the realm of the speech, I have made my thoughts (reflections)

behave like breeze so as to collect all the leaves of this species, wherever they had been lying scattered in the treasury of the writer's book, into a bunch of rose buds and place the same as a bouquet in my hands". "These meaningful matters (***Maniwiyat***) were arranged in a way which is a speciality of this writer. During the course of my writings I had penned down things, simple and compound, prefaces and premises, short and long examples, and big and small epistles and letters of charming significance. These were compiled with extreme pain and labour, physical and mental. I have been able to set all these subjects of thought and care in their proper places so that there should not remain angularities to put strain on men of refined taste. At the end he writes "If in the garden of elegant writing, my sincere friends may find some fanciful pictures, they should take them to have come out unintentionally, and because the gardener while cultivating the golden jasmine and yellow roses could not help breaking the monotony by bringing in some red tulips also. If they see a wrong writing like an ant in a mixture of rose water and syrup (*jullab*) and find a mistaken point like the head of a fly fallen in a cup of honey they should not abstain from it in the manner of Imam Shafi, but follow the way of Noman (Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam-i-Azam) for the two feathers are an antidote to the poison of one feather" (V-169-70)

The book rhapsodically described (V-167) by its author as "annals of the age and of countless dates" (*Tarikh-i-Rozgar wa Tarikh-i-Beshumar*) has its limitations. It was composed to display the authors skill in providing fine and ornate specimens of epistolary compositions for the instructions of the young learners, and was not written or meant for social historians. From such literary works one cannot expect to get a full and accurate picture of contemporary life, especially when the author frankly admits, at times, that his compositions included some fanciful pictures and letters coined or invented by his mind. The case of the letter of Badr Hajib is an instance in point (IV-144-56-18). Some of his references to certain things of domestic life and manners appear to have been deliberately left incomplete and hidden in rhetorical flourishes. The dates and facts mentioned in some of the documents vary from those found in standard historical works. But if we leave aside the rhetorical parts, critically examine

and analyse the contents; take out matter which is or some evidential value by clearing the grain from the husk, and piece together the scanty and scattered information on the life and conditions, progress or deterioration in moral and material sense, of the people of the 13th century, we can get an idea of some aspects of the contemporary society and of the socio-economic, and socio-religious conditions and institutions, despite the colouring given to it by the imaginative mind of the writer.

Amir Khusrau, the foremost creative artist of the age and an idealist of high understanding was also a learned scholar and a man of varied interests, namely, Quranic and scholastic sciences, commentary, traditions, jurisprudence, philosophy, astronomy, poetry, music, etc. and he had studied these subjects from various points (vide passim).

There is much of interest even for a lexicographical researcher in the rhetorical writings of the *Risail.* The book shows in many places the powers of close and acute observation possessed by the versatile author. Though a man of aristocratic birth and position, and one of the greatest intellectuals of the time, he did not keep himself isolated from the main currents of social life. He considered himself a man of the people and moved among the people, high and low, good and bad. His heart was brimming with sympathy for the down-trodden, poor and oppressed people, agriculturists, artisans and labourers. He was conscious of the dignity of labour and has frequently eulogized those who earned their livelihood by honest labour and who provided amenities of life to others by the pearl-like sweat or their brow. His letters to his three sons, especially to the eldest, Ghiyasuddin Ahmed, throw sufficient light on such things, and his advice to his([17]) sons about the choice of profession and about the observance of all obligatory duties are also not devoid of interest (IV-256-320) There is nothing marvellous or miraculous in the *Risailul-i-Ijaz,* and its author does not deal with superhuman beings but mostly with men of normal social life.

Those who figure frequently in the various volumes are a variety of people such as *Ulama*, *Mashaikh*, officials of government and men of various functional and occupational

groups. We get descriptive references to such people as were the chief arms of the Turkish bureaucracy and ran the machinery of the government. There are many fictitious names which may be ignored, but the official titles[18] of, and functions performed by such peoples as ***Wazir, Diwan, Qazi, Mufti, Sadar Jahan, Vakil-i-Dar, Sipahsalar, Amir-i-Hajib, Amir-i-Barbak, Dabir-i-Khas, Nadim, Kitab Khan, Dadbak,*** or ***Amir-i-Dad, Malik Ariz, Mir-i-Bahr, Mir-i-Shikar, Akhur Bak, Mustaufi-ul-Mumalik, Mushrif-ul-Mumalik, Mutasarrif, Muqti Mohtasib, Shahna, Kotwal, Khuta, Nazir-i-Mumalik, Sar Silahdar, Sar Jandar, Amir-i-Sadda*** etc., cannot but attract our notice. We come across industrial artisans, including many Muslims, such as textile workers and handloom weavers, oil pressers, leather workers, tailers, needle-workers, embroiderers, goldsmith, goldbeaters, makers of swords and bows and arrows, brass and metal workers, blacksmith, carpenters. There are letters about grain merchants, shopkeepers, money-changers, peasants, cultivators, agricultural labourers, menials like barbers, washerman. The professional workers mentioned are cooks, bakers, confectioners, butchers, fishermen, distiller, wood-cutters, painters. Ministrels of both sexes, snake charmers, jugglers, jesters, harlots, old wenches also find a place in the volume. This artisans are both highly skilful and unskilled, good and bad. Men of sueh a large and varied occupational groups earned their livelihood by means fair and also corrupt and deceitful. There are also interesting descriptions of slaves of both sexes, of various ages, and of different races and nationalities, foreign and indigenous, and possessing some special characteristics of their own.

A *Farman* with the royal seal (*Tughra*), dated A.H. 709 and addressed to the merchants of Cambay refers to commodities, line and of high value, and especially slaves imported in sea vessels from Arab lands, Habsha, Bahrain, Barbar, Maghrib, and Syria. These Abyssinian and Ethiopian slaves (Barda-i-Habshi wa ghulaman-i-Zang) were tall-statured stout and strong, swift-footed and ebony-coloured and had curly and twisted hair on their heads. The large-eyed female slaves of Habsh were of agreeably saltish black colour "The Turks imported from Cathay are very good shots with their arrows and so is the case with the Turkish slaves brought from Bala (Khurasan). Their value cannot be measured by their size

and stature for they are worth more than the price demanded. But the best of the Turks and plenty of them come from Yamak. They are very grave and sedate. The moon-faced Turkish youth with fine down on their cheeks are iron-bodied. The Chinese are cat-eyed and dog-faced with wrinkles on their foreheads. The Mongols are dog-tongued and have lips like those of the Tartars. The Tibetans are narrow-eyed and their noses are lost in their faces.

As regards the female slaves, some of Turkish extraction who had been brought from Cathay were of very fair complexion, and the brokers readily offered the price demanded when the slave dealers exposed the reflections of their faces and necks through the Chinese mirror. The Chinese slave girls who had been brought by a Khotani had such a musk-scented hair that it may be said that hundreds of Chinese musk pods had been used in their curls. Although Indian and Turkish slave girls are black and white complexioned respectively, yet the blackness which is free from defects is better than whiteness which is full of them. When put under the saddle the Turkish slave girl is different from the Indian mare who has greater fire (passion). I saw a Turkish slave girl in the house of a certain Turk of Gharra tribe who had two moles which were out of place. If they could remove one the other would have enhanced her beauty all the more. The Turkish slave girl is delicate limbed and deserves purchasing, while the Indian slave girl who is like an enkindled fire should be disposed off. The original place of the Turkish is Aas (a place near Qibchaq) but a Hindu slave girl is *Aas* (hope, dependence, and trust) personified. She is a combination of fire and water. If you issue an order to a Turkish slave girl she will flare up like fire but becomes cool like water afterwards. But an Indian slave girl is by nature soft and cool and ready to draw water and perform difficult tasks. This is not the case with the Turkish slave girl, who is all fire when her blood is up. Although the Turkish female slaves are by nature white complexioned, some of them had rubbed their red-coloured face at the feet of black-faced ones thinking that this might be conducive to their honour and happiness. Auctually they became disgraced or black faced (V-165-67).

About the "Hindu slave boy" Amir Khusrau writes : "As

he has been bred and brought up to be of a good character he is like a beautiful rose flower of paradise, though he is born of a hellish Hindu. If he is addressed as *Tuba Lak* (what a sweet and delicious fruit of the *Tube* tree of the Paradise) this will remind him of the *Lac* or gum of the Bar tree. Where there is a moon-faced youthful slave there is always a Khwaja ready to purchase him. One slave with pierced ears (obedient) is better than 100 of free run-away ones. Although a youthful Hindu slave is like a make-weight of the scale, yet he is a stone which is worth having for gold. But can a slave remember (be grateful to) his master when he becomes proud of his prosperity ? As soon as such a slave becomes sure of his heel, he would break the heads of men into pieces. Every vein and fibre of a Hindu slave makes him turn back towards his sacred thread. As compared with an old freely-moving slave the newly purchased ones must be closely kept in their places. The ill-natured low-born slave can never be of good conduct. The Khwaja who is enamoured of his slave whose body is as fair and white and as silver but who is gambler should not feel disgusted with him if he spends his money lavishly on the game of dice (II-168-69).

Further on we are told of two types of female slaves, one held dear and kept for pleasure and enjoyment, and the other virtually serving as a maid-servant doing rough domestic works like the drawing of water and grinding the corn. Amir Khusrau points out the difference between them and the *Bibi* (wedded wife) who treated them harshly and kept them half-starved and under her watchful eyes (I-170).

There is a long array of characteristic names of women largely Turkish and Muslim and also some Indians. There are satirical references to some southern women such as '*Didi*' of Deogiri who had made her black face white by coming out from the flour mill to cast glamorous side-glances on people, and 'Uchhaldi', the *Nayaka* (the mistress of a brothel), the typical representative of the *Nayakas* of Hind The women followers of old *Nayaka* always look youthful amidst men. Her ears were like water-drawing bucket hanging in well and her lips were like raised sides of a reservoir. On one side of her nose a pearl was suspended from the nostril while on the other the snot having frozen on account of cold breeze looked like a hanging pearl superior to, and better than, pearls. This

Nayaka had become well known in that region for her refined taste and her nose had made her much too self-conscious.

But we may leave out such things. We have already dealt with Turmati Khatun[20] who because she was highly skilled in music, both vocal and instrumental, had been introduced by the author to the court of the king and had very soon been put in charge of all Persian and Indian Musicians. Another which deserves a passing notice has been named Shamsa Khatun, the beautiful ministrel whose presence in his Tazkir (admonition) assembly was not tolerated by *Malik-ul-Muzakkarin* (the king of Sermonisers), Khwaja Afzal His sermons drew all sorts of persons, learned, pious, free, and well-born, and also secluded women of the palace (*Mahal*). There were also Indian women or female slaves (*Jawariya-i-Hindiya*). These had separate places allotted to them so that the body of foolish ignorant persons who would like to be equated and seated with the learned and scholarly should keep themselves away from these veiled ones (*Mokhaddarat*). All such persons were made to occupy a place from where they could not interfere with the ladies. Shamsa Khatun, the *Mutriba*, (ministrel) was seen in the midst of these ladies of the Haram, *Malik-ul-Muzzakkarin* gave a hint by uttering alternately the words '*Haza*' (Masculine) and '*Hazehi*' (feminine gender) with the result that she was made to leave the assembly (V-245).

In an age when the general standard of morality was far from satisfactory, and social life was disfigured by many vices,[21] as indicated in the Risail, especially by excessive indulgence in carnal pleasures and too much proneness towards the trinity of joy, wine, women, and music, Amir Khusrau, despite his tendency to laugh at others and also at himself looks like a grave mouth-piece of a puritan,[22] moralizing and emphasizing the need of the suppression of the vices mentioned. He was a strong advocate of seclusion and separation and of all the rights and privileges accorded by Islam to women. Normally respectable ladies did not come out, but they were free to attend, in their veils, the learned discourses of preachers. There is a lack of evidence about female education. At one place we are told "although the mother of your well wisher was unlearned she had in her memory many prayers: my mother was possessed of many virtues which she had cultivated for the sake of God"

(II-164) ; and at another "Masuma, the queen-mother, may God safeguard and promote her purity, abstinence and good health is always engaged in her religious duties, devotional exercises, and fit and proper prayers (III-67). Amir Khusrau's Fatimah, Khadija, Aisha, Mastura, Zainab and Zahra were models of noble virtues, piety, chastity etc. (I-89) Saman Khatun and Arghawan Khatun, daughters of Bibi Nabat, were so continent, pure, chaste, and secluded that even the wind had not success within their veiled sanctuary (II-89). Though a connoisseur of the art of music, our author looked askance at ladies' indulgence in sensual songs "such and such a daughter has never listened to *Bang-i-Sarod* or melodious music" (II-65). He writes appreciatingly about "the daughter who keeps herself concealed even from the eyes of the mother and father (II-165); the women who is fully amenable to her husband's wishes, may her husband continue to be tied to her by affection and by *Kabin* or marriage contract" (II-164); the father-in-law who is very friendly and affectionate towards his son-in-law for the sake of the peace and happiness of the daughter (II-169). He condemns the sharp tongued wife (*Salita*) and he heaves a sigh of relief at the liberation of her husband from her by his death (II-160).

Our author wanted that women should occupy their proper place in society and recognize, along with their husbands, that they had their rights as well as duties and responsibilities. He insisted upon filial affection and for having special regards and respects for the mother and proper adjustment of relations between husband and wife for a happy household life." The mother gives her milk and brings up the child. The son who rolls at the feet of the mother is one of paradise, and if he shows any warmth (anger and annoyance) he is sure to go to hell. If the son causes any grief and affliction to the parents his face will be blackened. Amir Khusrau quotes the Quranic varses "I have issued a mandate that they should do good to the parents" I pray to God to be kind to and have mercy and graciousness on my parents who have brought me up since childhood" The son has to pay "special regards to the mother who carried on his load with extreme trouble and gave birth to him after an extreme pain". "Even a particle of the pain and trouble she has undergone in giving birth to her son is enough to weigh down the scale in his favour on the judgement Day".

Even if the son gives 30 cities to her for the 30 months of the lying-in and the milking period, he cannot discharge her debts. If he balles at the feet of the mother, he will deserve the adage "Paradise is at the feet of the Mother". Amir Khusrau also writes about the foster-mother who makes the son linked up to her through her milk, and the real mother who is tied to him by blood, and says "when I look at the things closely, I find the milk to be the stronger bond or link than the blood" (IV-50).

We get further glimpses into state of women, marriage, birth, and education of the young children. Polygamy was the prevalent social custom and in disregard of the Islamic Law which makes equal treatment of all the wives imperative upon the husband, partiality was shown to the '*Bibi*' as compared with the 'Jariya', allowing the former to tyrannize on the latter. The prevalent code of matrimony was not very different from what we find today. The parents were approached, sometimes directly by the suitors, for the hands of their daughters. Bakhtiyar Amjad of Delhi contacted the father of the prospective bride and informed him all about his antecedents and his own suitability for the match. He was of high lineage, his grand-father having being a member of the royal family of Kirman, whose excessive generosity had left the family destitute. He was himself highly educated and had become well versed in theology, grammar, and literature by sitting at the feet of masters of Arabic and Persian (II-314).

When proposals were made it was for the father or the guardian to give consent to the marriage. Great care was taken in making the selection and the father had to consult the other members of the family. When the highly virtuous and chaste Saman and Arghawan Khatun, the foster sisters of Wajih Suri, and treated as his own daughters by the good and generous-hearted Khwaja Ariz attained their marriagable age, many suitors came forward from all sides. Besides beauty and virtues they were possessed of some wealth and property. But Shama Gulabi was determined to have one of them, preferably Saman, for his wife. He really coveted their gold and silver. The writer was of opinion that on no account the hidden rose-bud should be tied with the string of the marriage with Gulabi and he should never be allowed to take

her away to his house. The writer was prepared to disclose the details which might expose him thoroughly (II-158-60). Bibi Nusrat had a son name Hussam. His tongue enabled him to gain a mastery over both speech and writing, and he was very brave and intrepid. He had also asked for the hands of these girls. But he had become notorious for killing people. The writer says that when he came to know of his attitude he kept quiet. Had Hussam been like a mirror even then he would not look at his face. The writer made an alternative suggestion. There was an attendant of that Malik-Ariz named Jauhar, who had virtually adopted him as his son. He was a writer by profession, was himself free, and was born of a free and noble person. In the first place he was a free-born (*Ahrari*) man and, secondly, for ten years he had been in the service of wise and learned scholars and had been responsible for their correspondence. The writer suggested that the veiled one should be united in wedlock with him so that the couple might enjoy a happy married life. (II- 165).

A certain person while offering his felicitations on the happy nuptial of his friend, showering his blessings like bridal gifts and presents (*Raikhtani-i-Urusi*) on the couple and wishing happy prosperous life for them struck a note of warning. "Now that this veiled one, the choice of your heart, is by your side, you may devote yourself heart and soul to her; but you should not dissipate your youth by indulging in lust according to past practices. You should keep your palate confined to this ripe fruit (confine yourself to your wife) so that you may have the good fortune of children who will bring good name and fame for you. But you should take care not to surrender yourself completely to her will so that all the blissful comforts might not turn into troubles and grief. If some body becomes tied to the palm of the hands of the woman like the Henna (becomes hen-pecked), there would be nothing surprising if his hands would become stained with blood. Whenever the man agreed to listen to the Sermon of the woman and submitted himself to her lectures, the wife would become the husband. If the wife was allowed to lord it over you, you will become the wife and the wife would become the lord".

Sometimes conjugal relations became strained for the

faults of one or the other. One Najibuddin had married the fiery-tempered termagant daughter of Khwaja Saleh. Both father and daughter had made his life a hell. He was so much annoyed with the asperity and harsh words of his father-in-law that he decided to break his relations with his daughter. She went over to her uncle, Khwaja Amid, who took her under his care, neglecting his responsibilities towards his other near relations. Ultimately Bibi Barka Khatun and the saintly grandmother of the deserted one with telling beads in her hands intervened and tried to restore the relations between the daughter and her husband, the son-in-law. They told Khwaja, the father-in-law, that his son-in-law was like his son, it was not advisable that he should allow the separation of the and wife from husband to continue, for his son would be left alone and helpless. They hoped that he would give up his apathy and opposition and try to join her with her husband as was the case with Fatimah and Ali, and that he would abstain from causing disturbance like Abu-Jehl, and would not enkindle the fire of enmity like Bu Lahab (II-159).

The following piece shows that though it was permissible for a man to have more than one wife, and for women to be married more than once, yet people like our author perhaps disfavoured such practices. '*Kabin*' or the documentary settlement of marriage portion served as a check on the pronouncement of the Islamic formula "I divorce thee three times". A man having two purses or bags (married two women) is taken by a woman as a coin of double (counterfeit) stamp, and a woman who has contracted two marriages is, in the view of a man, deserving of three divorces. Even if a man is of fiery temperament or of good cool nature, in either case he is under the control of the woman, who with her documentary weapon (*Kabin*) with many rings in the chain (conditions) can get an upper hand over him. '*Mahri*' (bridal money) and '*Mehr*' (affection) are of one form, if there be no '*Zer*'(vowel point 'I'= sabdual) and '*Zabar*' (vowel point, short' a; =domineering) between them, for a woman '*Mehr*' (affection) for the man is better and more valuable than '*Mehr*' (marriage portion); but for a man '*Mehr*' (Infatuation) for woman is worse than the '*Mahr*' (bridal wealth). A man who wants to marry a woman who is sought after (for wealth) will become subjected to the wishes of the woman in this own house (I-1st).

There are references to the way the Muslims of different classes and both sexes were dressed. The garments of women consisted of "*Niqab* (veil) hanging over the face", a distinctive mark of married women of upper classes, '*Chadar*' (scarf) Qasab (woman's head gear) '*Maqna*' (a veil of muslin over the head and reaching to the ground) *Pae, Cha* (drawer or trouser) '*Pairahan*' (loose or close-fitted shirt) '*Sarawil*', 'Izar' *Pancha-i-Shalwar*' (kinds of trouser worn by both women and men) '*Resha-ha-i-Damni*' (women's skirt mounted with fringes) '*Barani*' (an outer garment to keep off ains, used by both), '*Sangchi-i-Zanan*' (Sina-posh or breast-belt), '*Gulband*' (neck cloth). They used cosmetics like *Ghaza* '*Gulguna*', Sandal etc. and many other perfumes, had '*Gulala* (locks of hair hanging loose) '*J'ad*,' ringlets, or curly locks) and they parted the hair just in the middle of the head "*Rahaha Az Farq-i-rast rast karda*" I-21 i.e. track made straight in the centre of the head).

There were great rejoicings when a child, male or female, was born. But the birth of a son was welcomed for prolonging the pedigree of the family. A father was felicitated on the birth of his son who was given a name and a family surname, Shamsuddin Abubakar. Khwaja Ainuddin, the maternal uncle of a child quite in keeping with his high position, showered much gifts and presents '(*Rekhatani*)' with open hands on his subordinates. We also get a reference of some economic importance. Bibi Zubaida, the mother of the child, had very little milk in her breast. Her sister, Khadija, suckled the child for some days, and then had to stop. But she offered 10 silver Tankas in lieu of her milk, and with this she purchased kharida's wet nurse so that the child should get sufficient milk and be at ease (II 151-152).

The following piece is of some importance as it tell us of the ceremonies observed both before and after a boy is circumcised, and also refers to a common belief that the sun in the sky casts an evil influence on some persons down on earth to avert which some money has to be given away in charity :—"For the purification of the orthodox which is both obligatory and optional and ablution or physical wash which lead to the performance of circumcision ; the pleasure of executing the duty, optional or necessary, of investing

(the boy) with pure and clean robe so as to have the two divine blessing—grace of God and the healing ointment for the wound ; and for the satisfaction of carrying out the behests of Mohammad who has shown the way of discharging the Divine Command, both obligatory and optional, I, Your well wishing friend, Musa, who always speak of with praise and details about circumcision, bend my head of service down to the feet and facilitate you on the circumcision of your dear son which is so pleasing to us and annoying to our enemies. I also perform the custom of offering sweets like an orthodox, and hope that he (the boy) will take his bath quite safely after the expiry of one week, and he will shine forth like a full moon under the resplendent auspices of his fathers' affection, and will put on his body a particular kind of dress which has been prepared with his good luck. You would not, however, consider him immune from the effects of the evil eye, and Dirham and Dinar should be given away in charity to serve as a shield against the sun in the sky. Verse · "even one Dirham given in charity acts as a shield against the arrows of calamities". You should also entertain the parties of your sincere friends by providing them with fiery drinks and fragrant wood of aloes so that the evil thinking enemies may be reduced to ashes, and the scar of the wound may disappear completely. I hope that from this virtuous son, on account of the observance of traditional ceremony, further supererogatory acts like circumcision may come to happen. One can bring out from the vast book many such fragmentary information about socio-religious life of the people as can give us an insight into the working of the author's mind, his mode of thinking, his personality, temperament, outlook and prejudices. In some places Amir Khusrau speaks in the first person and relates incidents which happened to him. But for lack of space all these may be left over for a separate paper. We may conclude this paper with a few of the maxims and pithy sayings picked up only from one piece in Volume II (192-201). These may not be quite like those embodying the saturated wisdom of centuries, but they are a reflection of the author's assessments of men and things, and the result of his rich worldly experiences, his association with all sorts of people, and his knowledge of human nature in all its aspects and varieties.

One who sees himself does not see God (The self-seeing and self-centred person cannot realise God). One should be afraid of him who has no fear of God. The earth is so complaisant as to kiss the palm of the Kings' feet in the same way as that of the beggar. Water is a great bestower for it wets or moistens whatever it comes in contact with. Whosoever is fiery-tempered lives a life without water (lustre or dignity). The head which does not sustain the burden of anyone becomes itself a burden on other's shoulder. They wash all kinds of dirt with water, but the dirt of the water itself cannot be washed off. One can live without bread but not without water. Harsh words break an impudent eye (unkind, ungrateful person) as the almond is broken by stone. One who is content with little remains alive and the goer (*Rawinda*) is one who has a good pace. In thirst thousands of pearls are not worth a drop of water. The fool is mindful of his beard and the wise man of his virtues. Good and beneficent actions brighten the face (lead to good name and celebrity). The adornment of the manly person lies in his face being reddenced ir battle, while the woman becomes red-faced by the use of rouge. A man without character has no weight (esteem or reputation). The hands of a manly person itches for giving and those of a miser for taking. The shoemaker chews the smeared leather, but earns his honest food. The closed fist is the lock to paradise and the open finger is the key to Gods' mercy. The fingers of artisan or labourer are the key to his livelihood, while the palm of the unskilled one is like a beggar's bowl. A man who does not fill the belly of others is no better than an animal which looks to its own belly. The yarn-maker (weaver) goes forward, while the rope-maker moves backward. The dark-coloured blacksmith is responsible for the redness (quality) of the iron. The needle does not its work stealthily like a spy, while the swoid is a trumpeter of the news. The needle covers the person and the thread is pierced (fitted into) its eye. Generosity should be learnt from the fine sieve which gives out the things swifted and holds back bran or course chaff The weighing scale is miserly for it bends down as soon as it receives some thing. The bride who hides herself behind the sieve (anything perforated) needs no prying. To cut the arm is better than the arms being cut down (for theft) i.e. the executioner is better than the thief. One who digs the foundation of the houses of

others finds his head covered with dust. The carpenter's chisel does not work without its head being rubbed (sharpened), and the teeth of the saw works only when many of the fine and sharp points are handled by more than two. The satiety of the sieve is the result of the magnanimity of the grinding stone or handmill. The discourses (*Maqamat*) can be had from the book of Hamadani and not from the silken (*Hariri*) cloth. For a wise man restrained hand (economical habit) is better than a long turban (pride). For eyes redrose are worse than thorn as nail is better for pupils than thaw or web in the eye. When they asked the pomegranate why it laughed behind the curtain, the counter question came why with every thing was chewed with teeth they chewed all its own teeth (II 191-201).

1 Vide writers's paper entitled Historical value of the Sufic Hagiographical works of the Sultanate period (170 typed pages; still unpublished).

2. Life and works of Amir Khusrau.

3. Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan.

4 (a) Betel chewing among early Muslim of India, based mainly on Risail ul-Ijaz-(Printed)

(b) Amir Khusrau on Music in *Risail-i-Ijaz-i. Khusravi* (All India Oriental Conference, Aligarh).

(c) Fragmentary information of historical interest from *Risail-ul-Ijaz* (un-published)

(d) Life and conditions as depicted by Amir Khusrau in *Risail-ul-Ijaz* (All India History Congress, Mysore).

5. O P.L. Ms

6. The extent of land tilled by peasants with 10 ploughs and pair of oxen Sadiq Khan, quoted by Dr Irfan Habib (Agrarian system of Mughal India), refers to ancient practice of assessing revenue by counting the number of ploughs which prevailed in some parts of the Deccan till the 17th century (p. 195-226-27).

7 *Risail-ul-Iajz* (p. 5-13).

8 Also called *Ariz-ul-Mamlik* who was responsible for the recruitment, payment, and inspection of troops as well as transport and commissariat (Quraishi's *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (p. 1085-137).

9. See the writer's paper entitled 'Matters of historical interest in *Risail-i-Ijaz-Khusravi* (Ranchi Session of All India History Congress).

10. Alauddin Khalji is credited with the introduction of a systematic branding of the horse brought by the troopers. The system called '*Dagh*' really dates back to the Umayyads (Quraishi).

11. See Amir Ali : *History of the Saracens.*

12. See Quraishi A S.D., p 59 for the office and its functions.

13. See Elliot Vol. II for the traditional account of this reputed Saint-Warrior whose tomb was visited by the Tuglaq Sultans and by Haji Ilyas of Bengal and is still an object of veneration and visitation by both Hindus and Muslims. The 14th century Sufi Saint of Bihar, H. Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri refers in his Malfuz to the myth that had gathered about him.

14. He is not to be confused with his namesake who was sent by Malik Kafur to blind Khizir Khan at Gwaliar about half a century later.

15. Kilokhari (Hisar-i-Nau) was situated at a distance of about 3 miles in the north east of old Delhi on the western bank of Jamuna. Qaiqubad who ascended the throne in 686 had built a place there. The site had existed before and was not founded by Qaiqubad as the author of *Asar-us-Sanadid* would have us believe.

16. See the writer's paper already referred to under 9.

17. Ghayasuddin Ahmad, Yaminuddin Mubarak, Nuruddin Taiyyab, Vol. IV.

18. All these except one or two have been noticed and explained by Quraishi.

19. Those who regard Amir Khusrau as the first and the sure type of Indo-Muslim culture and have read about the glorification of everything Indian in Nuhsipahr for which Mubarak Khalji, the admirer of the renegade Hindu, Khusru Khan, gave him an elephant weight of silver will be struck by such vilification as "*Dau Zakhi Zada Hindu Zada*" and other expressions elsewhere One can understand the use of opprobrious epithets of "*Malayeen-i-Kaffar*" and "*Hinduwan-i-Palid*" when dealing with "*Hinduwan Sarkash*" (11-57-75) and also the author's ire at petty Hindu officials like Deochand, accountants, scribes, *Khuta*, merchants, shopkeepers, money-changers etc. who were corrupt and dishonest He could write about "*Dil-i-Ahni-i-Hinduwan-i-Zangar Zirffta*" (1-21) for it was so difficult to make the Hindus, specially of high castes, shake off their old beliefs and creeds "One may not object very much to such statements as the reverence shown like that of the Brahmins towards the cows and of the washermen to the ass" and also "rubbing the head of humility towards a heap of

cow-dung like the Hindus" (E-131). He could make the sword retort against the claim of the pen by saying "Oh you juggling Hindu, you have been playing in the hands of the Hindus, and like Brahmins you have become immersed in the Baid (vedas) and as the idol-worshipper at Benaras you have been rubbing ashes on your body etc." (V-36) But one could not expect the favourite follower of the highly liberal and Indiannized mystic Sufi, H. Nizamuddin Aulia, to describe the stone (Idol) worshipped by the Hindus as '*Wa Jibul Istinja*' (IV-138).

20. Paper referred to under 4.

21. For the perverted tastes of the time see the sixth section of the 5th Risala entitled humour "indecent even to the extent of vulgurity".

22. For his views about women see his letter addressed to his daughter, Mastura, in *Matla-ul-Anwar*. Maqala 22.

UNE BASE DE L'HUMANISME MUSULMAN NOTION ET PRINCIPES DE L'EDUCATION

LOUIS GARDET

Qu'est-ce que l'homme?

Il y eut, au cours des ages, de hautes realisations d'humanisme musulman. Nous pourrions meme parler d'humanismes, au pluriel. Sur le plan des cultures, il conviendrait d'evoquer un humanisme avant tout arabo-musulman, mais aussi irano-musulman, indo-musulman turco-musulman . . . Ils se compenetrent les uns les autres. Si divers qu'ils puissent etre, ils s'unifient en quelque sorte de par les valeurs specifiquement musulmanes qui les animent tous; et secondairement, de par une commune influence du vocabulaire religieux arabe et de notions arabes qui informa. peu ou prou, l'Islam iranien, indien ou turc. Chacun d'eux apporte à l'ensemble sa note, et donc sa richesse propres. Mais l'on peut dire qu'il est d'autant plus lui-meme qu'un mutuel accueil les ouvre les uns aux autres [1]

Or, si l'on peut parler d'humanisme musulman, n'est-ce point dans la mesure où se degage, en positif, un sens musulman de l'homme et de sa destinee, non seulement eternelle, mais terrestre aussi? Je ne reprendrai pas le detail des analyses et recherches que j'ai presentees par ailleurs. Je me bornerai à rappeler trois perspectives principales.

Selon une expression chere à Louis Massignon, nous dirions qu'en Islam l'homme est avant tout "temoin de Dieu". C'est là ce qui le constitue en dignite C'est là ce qui fait de cet etre "harmonieusement cree et forme" à partir d'une simple "goutte coagulee"[2] un sujet de droits et de devoirs, un *mukallaf*, auquel Dieu, dans la libre disposition de sa Misericorde, impose (*taklif*) de L'adorer.[3] L'homme est *personne* humaine *parce que* temoin de Dieu. Non point tellement en raison de sa nature meme (à la difference de la vue chretienne

des choses), mais parce que Dieu, dans la preeternite d'avant la creation des corps, appela la race adamique à Le proclamer Seigneur.[4] Ce mythe privilegie du *mithaq*, du grand pacte de la preeternite, fonde et oriente, dars la pensee musulmane, le sens meme de la destinee humaine.

Il la situe sous l'eclairement eschatologique du "Jour de la resurrection", comme le dit le texte coranique; mais il engage non moins la vie terrestre, qui prepare le Jour. Car, et voici la deuxieme perspective : n'est-ce point dans la mesure ou il est son "temoin" que Dieu fait de l'homme son *khalifa* son lieutenant sur terre? On connait la belle prosopopee de *Coran* II, 30-34, et la jalousie des anges, et la reponse de Dieu revelant a Adam le nom (*ism*) des choses, qui les designe et les cache à la fois, et donne pouvoir sur le nomme (*musamma*). Tout ce qu'il accomplira sur terre en fidelite aux prescriptions divines, au *taklif*, aussi bien l'organisation des cites, les arts, sciences et techniques, que les obligations religieuses proprement dites, l'homme le fera comme lieu-tenant du Tres Haut dont il doit temoigner:

Mais pour qu'il puisse remplir dignement cette charge, il lui est impose de "reflechir sur les signes de l'univers",[5] signes memes de l'existence du Createur, et per là d'user de sa raison. Voici notre troisieme perspective. De tout temps. les docteurs et apologetes de l'Islam ont mis en avant ces references coraniques pour valoriser l'effort humain dans l'acquisition de la "science" (*ilm*). Avant tout, certes, la "science des choses de la religion", et tel est bien le sens premier du *hadith* si souvent citē : "Cherchez la science, quand meme ce serait en Chine". Mais n'en resultera-t-il pas un respect de tout savoir authentique, et des sciences profanes comme des sciences religieuses? Et qu'en faudra-t-il conclure quand celles-là sembleront se dresser contre celles-ci, du moins les relativiser? Nous rencon trons alors la tension interieure que connurent si souvent les formes les plus brillantes des realisations humanistes en terres d'Islam, Pour etre vraiment lieu-tenant de Dieu sur terre, l'homme se doit de progresser sans cesse en connaissances; mais ce savoir meme, et les jouissances ou la puissance qu'il procure, ne vont-ils pas eloigner l'homme du temoignage qu'il doit rendre à la souverainete misericordieuse du seul Seigneur?

L'homme temoin de Dieu et son lieu-tenant sur terre, et sollicite par Dieu à exercer son intelligence et sa reflexion : telles sont, me semble-t-il, les notes essentielles, enracinees dans le texte coranique, qui informeront tout humanisme musulman, Leur mise en oeuvre dependra donc des possibilities que la famille et la vie sociale offriront a chaque individu pour se realiser harmonieusement selon cette triple perspective. Les problemes poses par l'education de l'nfant d'homme sont au coeur de toute realisation humaniste. Et certes, une education suppose l'ideal d'un type d'homme à promouvoir. Les principes educatifs seront differents selon qu'une vie d'homme n'a d'autre but qu'une efficacite immediate de puissance terrestre, ou selon que l'efficacite terrestre elle-meme est orientee et polarisee par une fin qui la depasse.

Trouvons-nous, dans les elaborations culturelles de l'Islam classique ou moderne, des reponses a de telles questions? Est-il possible d'en degager ce que nous pourrions appeler des principes directeurs?

Quelques reponses l'age classique

Le terme arabe qui connote le plus habituellement l'idee d'"education" est *tarbiyya*. Il evoque le sens general de "cultiver", "faire croitre". Il a deux synonymes approches : *tadīb*, eduquer sans doute, mais en corrigeant; et surtout *tahdhib*, eduquer, former, avec une idee premiere d'emonder ou de polir

Je n'entreprendrai pas un releve exhaustif des principales sources et theories classiques qui traitent de l'education. Le lecteur en trouvera une analyse vivante dans *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, de A. S. Tritton.[6] L'accent y reste mis sur la formation intellectuelle, l'etude et la vie d'etudiant, les programmes d'enseignement. Je reviendrai seulement sur quelques references qui me semblent mettre en valeur la formation non seulement de l'intelligence, mais de la personne humaine tout entiere.

Le probleme est nettement pose par les *Ikhwan al-Safa*. Leur ismaïlisme modere garde le souci constant des valeurs spirituelles. Une premiere définition concerne l'acquisition des connaissances. Enseigner, c'est faire passer a l'acte ce qui

est en puissance, c'est parce que l'ame a la capacite d'etre informee par l'objet connu qu'elle peut etre enseignee[7]. Mais au cours de la longue Epitre XIX, *fi l-akhlaq wa l-adab*, quelques lignes evoquent plus directement la formation du caractere. Avant d'enumerer les divers degres ou les ames peuvent parvenir, les conditions et les vertus du renoncement ascetique qui font les "amis de Dieu", les *Ikhwan* notent[8] que s'il est necessaire d'etudier et de memoriser pour devenir savant, et de pratiquer un metier pour y devenir habile, il est non moins necessaire d'acquerir les habitudes morales appropriees pour que se renforcent et s'actualisent les virtualites bonnes du caractere (*sajaya*) Avec beaucoup de realisme; ils soulignents l'influence de la famille, des amis, du professeur, du milieu social...Ils ajoutent que c'est tres souvent à ces influences-là que sont dues non seulement les opinions professees, mais l'appartenance à une ecole ou à une religion.

Le problem, on le sait, preoccupera Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī.[9] Sa perspective est centree sur l'effort personnel d'une recherche de la verite; mais cela suppose un enseignement recu et la direction d'un maitre. Les textes, certains tres suggestifs et tres beaux, que Ghazzālī consacre a la formation de l'intelligence et de la personnalite insistent sur les rapports mutuels du maitre et de l'etudiant. Mais il faut noter aussitot que tout y reste situe selon une ligne de traditions sūfies. Le maitre dont il est question est sans doute le *mu'allim*, celui qui enseigne; mais il est plus profondement le *murshid* ou le *shaykh*, le "directeur spirituel". Quelque non qu'on lui donne, il n'en reste pas moins l' "educateur" (*murabb*) qui devra transformer les penchants mauvais en un naturel (*khuluq*) droit et sain. L'education (*tarbiyya*), dit Ghazzālī, "est semblable au travail du laboureur qui deracine les epines, sarcle le ble afin qu'il pousse mieux et donne une abondante moisson".[10] Tout homme, donc, a besoin d'un maitre pour le guider dans la voie droite.

Certes, l'etat de solitude, *'uzla'* offre de grands avantages dans la recherche de Dieu. Mais il offre aussi de serieux inconvenients, que doit avoir ecartes au prealable un long temps de vie au milieu des hommes. Car rester au milieu des hommes est necessaire pour s'eduquer (au sens de se corriger), et pour eduquer et reformer les autres (*ta'dib*). *S'eduquer*, c'est apprendre à supporter les hommes et leurs mefaits, et ainsi

vaincre ses propres passions. Or cela est indispensable pour celui dont l'agir (*akhlaq*) n'a pas ete forme et emonde (*tahdhib*) et tant que ses passions ou desirs ne sont pas soumis a la Loi divine. *Eduquer les autres*, et les reformer, c'est les exercer (au bien), ce qui suppose vivre a leur contact, comme doivent le faire aussi bien le *shaykh* ṣūfī que le professeur qui enseigne.[11]

Cette reference au ṣūfisme est sans doute l'une des raisons qui sollicite Ghazzālī a dissocier la formation recue dans le milieu familial et celle que le jeune homme recevra une fois ce milieu quitte. Ne doit-il pas en effet quitter les siens pour s'avancer dans la science et l'experience des "états spirituels" (*ahwal*) ?—Le grand texte est celui de l'*Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1,1,5,[12]. Le maître ici est, *al-murshid al-mu'allim*, disons, si i'on veut, le directeur-professeur. Or, la premiére tache (*wazīfa*) que le maître doit assumer, c'est de devenir un pere pour ses etudiants ; non tant pour continuer l'oeuvre educative du pere selon la chair, mais pour la transmuer selon la perspective de la destinee eternelle. Ghazzālī, semble ne confier aux parents que les soins de l'existence terrestre.[13] Et c'est pourquoi, dit-il, le droit (*haqq*) du maître l'emporte sur le droit des parents · l'etudiant recoit de ces derniers son existence presente et perissable, il recevra du premier l'existence qui perdure.[14]

On peut regretter que Ghazzālī ait quelque peu minimise le rôle des parents, et n'ait pas su degager la tache non seulement charnelle, mais morale et spirituelle, qui leur incombe. Ony peut voir l'influence de la societe, tres traditionnelle, tres "close" en ses structures, qui etait celle de son epoque. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est avec une grande penetration d'analyse et une remarquable hauteur de sentiment, qu'il enumere les huit *wazīfāt* du directeur-professeur. La premiere, nous venons de le voir, est de traiter paternellement le jeune homme qui lui est confie. La deuxieme est de bannir tout souci d'argent, et de dispenser son enseignement "pour Dieu seul" (*li wajh Allāh*). La troisieme est de conseiller l'etudiant avec prudence, de combattre en lui le desir immodere de penetrer trop vite dans une science obscure et difficile, par ambition, souci de briller ou de surpasser ses condisciples.[15]

Ces trois premieres *wazīfāt* engagent donc, avant tout, des valeurs morales. La quatrieme est a la fois d'ordre moral et

pedagogique. Il ne faut reprimander qu'avec discretion, non en public, et le coeur plein de pitie, non de colere, Blamer ouvertement, et violemment, c'est pousser l'etudiant a s'enteter dans sa facon de voir. Une soumission qui n'est qu'exterieure ne porte aucun fruit. En s'appuyant sur un *ḥadīth*, Ghazzālī remarque qu'une interdiction faite au seul nom de l'autorite, sans que soit explicite le bien fonde de la defense, fera croire a l'etudiant qu'on profit se cache dans la chose defendue, et qu'on veut l'en priver.

Les trois *wazīfāt* suivantes relevent de vues pedagogiques fort pertinentes. Le maître na devra jamais critiquer la matiere enseignee par un autre professeur. Il devra adapter son enseignement a la capacite de l'eleve, se mettre progressivement a sa portee, ne pas donner a l'intelligence de l'eleve un objet qui la depasse, sous peine de voir cette intelligence s'affoler. Bien plus, il devra respecter l'etudiant moins doue, ne pas lui en dire plus qu'il ne peut comprendre. ne meme pas lui laisser entendre qu'il existe, par derriere les quelques connaissances claires qu'il peut acquerir, un savoir plus complexe et plus difficile. L'eleve, autrement, risquerait d'abandonner les bases sures qui lui sont tout de meme accessibles, pour la vaine recherche de connaissances qu'il ne peut atteindre.[16]

Enfin, et ce n'est pas la tache la moins importante du professeur, il doit mettre en pratique ce qu'il enseigne, et veiller a ce que le temoignage de sa vie ne contredise pas ce qu'il s'efforce d'inculquer.

A ces devoirs du directeur-professeur repondent un certains nombre d'attitudes interieures auxquelles l'etudiant doit prendre grand soin d'etre fidele. Ghazzālī y revient tout au long de son celebre opuscule *Ayyuhā al-walad.*[17] Nul ne peut se passer d'un maître (*shaykh*) qui le reforme et le guide dans la voie de Dieu ; et les marques exterieures de reverence qu'on doit au maître seront le signe du respect qu'on lui porte en son coeur. C'est tout l'ensemble des vertus morales qu'aura a rechercher et a pratiquer le disciple.[18] Il ne doit discuter qu'a bon escient, en prive de preference, sans orgueil ni jalousie, dans le respect de toute verite.[19] Il evitera de sermonner autrui ; s'il doit le faire cependant. que ce soit sans affectation

et sans rechercher le succes. Il evitera de frequenter les grands de ce monde, et plus encore d'en recevoir des cadeaux. Qu'il agisse envers Dieu comme il aimerait qu'un serviteur agisse a son propre egard. Qu'il traite tout homme comme il aimerait etre traite par lui. S'il doit etudier ou enseigner, qu'il le fasse comme s'il etait a la veille de mourir. Qu'il n'amasse point de biens plus qu'il n'en faut pour faire vivre sa famille durant une annee. La science qui importe est celle qui conduit a Dieu.

Des themes analogues, aux details parfois plus precis encore, se retrouvent dans le *Mīzān al-amal.* C'est toujours de reforme des moeurs qu'il s'agit, de lutte contre les passions et les desirs, de l'enumeration des vertus de l'ame, et de la voie a suivre pour les acquerir.[20] C'est donc bien toute une education morale que ne cesse de preconiser Ghazzālī. Ce qui est premier, c'est l'acquisition des vertus. Le savoir intellectual n'est pas ecarte, certes, il est meme requis, mais a la condition qu'il ne risque pas de susciter jalousie ou orgueil, et dans la mesure ou il reste commande par la recherche de Dieu et de la fin derniere

La theorie ghazzālienne de l'education est, a coup sur, l'une des plus elevees qui soit. Elle vise a former des homme justes, vertueux, craignant Dieu, Le servant de tout leur coeur. Faut-il ajouter qu'elle connaît cependant une double limite . elle est toujours affaire entre le maître et le disciple, rien n'est dit du devoir proprement educatif des parents ; tout reste situe dans les perspectives ṣūfies, et le silence est fait sur le rôle et le devoir de l'homme musulman dans la cite des hommes.

Autre sera le point de vue de l'historien Ibn Khaldun. Il effleure a plusieurs reprises, au cours de sa *Muqaddima*, des themes touchant a l'education. Mais, selon la visee sociologique qui est sienne, il les situe principalement en reference a l'acquis ou a l'etat des civilisations ; et ce sont avant tout les methodes d'enseignement dont il discute, qu'il critique ou preconise.

A titre d'exemples : il souligne que la vie urbaine est plus propice a la culture de l'esprit que la vie nomade.[21] Il deplore que les methods d'enseignement, jedis florissantes au Maghrib, y soient tombees en decadence, alors qu'elles continuent a etre appliquees en Orient. Mais ce n'est point la,

note-t-il, la consequence d'une superiorite de nature de l'Oriental sur l'Occidental. Il est fort remarquable qu'Ibn Khaldun affirme ici l'unite de la nature humaine, qu'il s'agisse de l'Oriental ou de l'Occidental, du nomade ou du sedentaire, du campagnard ou du citadin[22]. Il est tres vrai, precise-t-il, que le citadin fait preuve de plus de sagacite et d'aptitude a acquerir arts et sciences que l' homme de la campagne ou du desert; et il est vrai de meme qu'a l'epoque ou il ecrit l'Oriental l'emporte en cela sur le Maghribin. Mais il s'agit d'une meilleure mise en ceuvre des virtualites et capacites de l'esprit humain comme tel. Or cette mise en oeuvre est fonction des habitudes et du genre de vie. "L'ame se forme au moyen des perceptions et des capacites qui lui surviennent". Dans la mesure donc ou un genre de civilisation sera apte a developper les unes et les autres, dans la meme mesure se developperont les connaissances, les arts et les techniques. Si la civilisation par exemple en est venue a decliner en Andalus, c'est parce que "ses habitants ont laisse deperir jusqu'aux derniers restes de l'enseignement academique."[23]

On sait l'influence qu'Ibn Khaldūn accorde en un premier temps a la geographie et aux climats sur la civilisation. En un deuxieme temps, l'education et l'enseignement a leur tour contribueront a faconner des types d'hommes. Le rôle de tout premier plan des educateurs et professeurs est partie integrante de la sociologie inductive de la *Muqaddima*.

A l'age moderne

Ces quelques points de repere, volontairement discontinus et contrastes, suffisent a nous prouver que le probleme de l'education s'est pose en fait a l'Islam classique. Ils nous prouvent en outre qu'une double ligne d'analyse fut envisagee : tantôt sur le plan de la morale individuelle et du progres spirituel ; tantot sur le plan social du progres technique et culturel des civilisations. On peut regretter que la recherche ṣūfie des *ahwāl* ait peu sensibilise un Ghazzālī a ce second aspect ; et que la demarche toute inductive d'un Ibn Khaldūn ne l'ait pas conduit a developper les regles et la finalite morales d'une education bien faite. Mais voici qu'a l'epoque contemporaine les deux lignes se rejoignent dans la confrontation sans cesse renouvelee de l'Islam et du monde moderne. Je me bornerai, là encore, à quelques exemples.

Les reformistes *salafiyya* ne pouvaient pas ne pas rencontrer le probleme. Le commentaire (*tafsir*) du *Manār* l'evoque à propos du role de la femme dans la societe et du respect que les enfants doivent temoigner à l'egard de leurs pere et mere.[24] Sice respect est exige, c'est en raison, dit Muhammad 'Abduh, du double bienfait recu et de la vie elle-meme et de l'education familiale.[25] Rashīd Riḍā, lui, n'estime pas que la vie recue merite reconnaissance. Dans l'acte generateur, ecrit-il, les parents ne cherchent guere que leur propre satisfaction. Si la piete filiale leur est due, c'est en raison de la peine qu'ils ont prise pour elever leurs enfants.[26] Ces derniers, en retour, une fois devenus adultes, devront pourvoir aux besoins de leurs pere et mere ages, et les entourer de deference.

Mais ce n'est aucunement une contrainte, un droit de *jabr*, que les parents doivent exercer sur leurs enfants. Empecher un fils de suivre, dans le choix d'une profession, un attrait fonde sur des dons naturels serait exercer à son egard une oppression injustifiee. Il n'en pourrait resulter que de douloureux conflits au sein de la famille.[27] Un enfant, un jeune homme, a droit à ce que sa liberte soit respectee en de justes limites.

Le commentaire (*tafsir*) du *Manār*, par ailleurs, reclame une sage education des filles. Il s'eleve contre les exagerations qui feraient sortir la femme du role qui lui est propre, mais demande que lui soit reconnue une participation possible à la vie de la Cite. On ne doit pas se contenter de lui donner un enseignement de base ; il faut veiller à ce que sa formation religieuse, morale et civique soit en honneur dans les institutions et les ecoles.[28]

Quand Rashīd Riḍā, par ailleurs, dessine les cadres ideaux de la Communaute musulmane, c'est toujours en insistant sur des "centres" et "seminaires" ou devraient etre formes les futurs chefs de la Cite.[29] Il s'agit sans doute de leur assurer l'acquisition des sciences religieuses, juridiques, politiques ; mais de leur assurer aussi une formation que l'on peut dire morale, chacun de ces futurs fonctionnaires devant etre revetu du "statut de justice" (*adala*), et le conserver.

Il faut reconnaitre cependant qu'en matiere d'education, l'ecole du *Manār* s'est complue en un certain rigorisme. Plus

larges, plus exhaustives, seront les vues de Muḥammad Iqbāl. Je les resumerai rapidement, en groupant diverses analyses, eparses en ses oeuvres. Elles se situent comme au confluent de deux horizons : d'une part, le sens proprement musulman de la destinee de l'homme, ses *requisit* quant à la formation du coeur et de l'esprit (et le meilleur de l'heritage ṣūfi n'est point absent),—d'autre part, les bouleversements apportes par l'invasion du monde moderne et de sa technique, et les exigences nouvelles qui en resultent pour une harmonie maintenue. Une etude plus complete que les quelques rappels reunis en ces pages aurait tout interet a tenir compte ici des systemes d'education hindous elabores—souvent tres elabores—au cours des ages. On rencontrerait les relations de maitre à disciple par eux definis, et les etapes de formation devenus classiques.[30] Des analogies evidentes seraient à souligner, et qui temoignent de l'unite de la nature humaine ; mais qui se revetent ici et là de notes propres, de caracteres specifiques, en dependance des finalites religieuses differentes, et du desir constant chez Iqbāl de repondre aux besoins les plus actuels.

Sa preoccupation premiere sera de triompher de la dichotomie ṣūfie entre un savoir purement intellectuel et une experience salvatrice, d'harmoniser la "tete bien faite" et la realite vecue. Ainsi que le remarquait le Prof. James Kritzeck en de precieuses mises au point sur le sujet meme qui nous occupe[31], l'homme, pour Muhammad Iqbāl, se definira d'abord comme une personne (persan, *khudi*) ; et, en consequence, par son pouvoir d'agir, par sa liberte, par la fonction la plus haute enfin de son intellect, appelee "intuition" par Iqbāl, et qui permet d'apprehender ce qui est. Cette saisie intuitive et synthetique a sa source dans la connaissance, dans le savoir que l'esprit humain se doit d'acquerir. Mais elle ne saurait s'epanouir que mue et orientee par l'amour. Ce n'est pas pour son propre progres spirituel que l'homme doit cultiver et epanouir sa personnalite. Il doit pouvoir la mettre au service de la societe, et tout specialement, en Islam, de la *umma*, de la Communaute musulmane. Il n'est pas besoin de rappeler ici le sens eleve et spirituel de la *umma* que preconisa Iqbāl,[32] plus souple, moins politico-juridique que les programmes traces par Rashīd Riḍā, mais par là meme plus apte à s'adapter a des formes politiques variees, et à la diversite des evolutions historiques.

Le but meme de l'education sera donc de former et de developper la personnalite de l'enfant, puis de l'adolescent, selon toute la verite de son etre, cree par Dieu pour L'adorer, en toute lucidite et libre initiative. Et des lors devront etre rejetees aussi bien la servile imitation d'un Occident materialise et technicise, que la contrainte d'une tradition etroite et close. L'une et l'autre de ces deux voies serait une atteinte à la vraie liberte. Il ne faut pas avoir peur de l'acquisition des sciences modernes et des techniques, mais il est requis qu'elles soient au service de l'homme, et non l'homme a leur service. Cette acquisition doit donc etre integree et subordonnee a la formation morale. Celle-ci à son tour ne doit point etre donnee sous formes d'imperatifs aveugles, elle doit etre, à chaque pas, justifiee en ses fondements. Et Iqbāl revient volontiers sur trois qualites essentielles qui sont à inculquer : le courage (lie au temoignage rendu à Dieu), le respect de l'autre, et donc une tolerance amoureuse de la verite, le detachement, qui est la vraie pauvrete (*faqr*), et, par lā, garantie de l'incorruptibilite du coeur et de l'esprit. Alors pourront etre acquises et dominees toutes les techniques du monde moderne.

Si nous voulons un apercu de l'ideal educatif de Muhammad Iqbāl, il n'est que de nous reporter aux si belles pages de conclusion de son *Djāvid-nāma*. S'adressant à son fils, il lui rappelle que ses premieres lecons, celles qui lui permirent de devenir un vrai serviteur de Dieu, lui furent donnees dans son enfance, et par sa mere. (Nous sommes donc loin de la separation qu'etablissait Ghazzāli entre les bienfaits materiels des parents et les bienfaits spirituels du maitre). Toute la suite de l'appel d'Iqbāl à Djāvid est pour degager la vraie portee sprituelle d'une authentique vie d'homme, et pour mettre en garde contre les tentations dune Europe technicisee. "J'ai peur de cette epoque qui t'a vu naitre, elle est noyee dans la matiere et sait peu de chose de l'ame". Le remede n'est pas d'ignorer la science moderne, mais de la soumettre à la finalite superieure d'une destinee humaine qui n'est pas que de cette terre. C'est dans les valeurs spirituelles de l'Islam que Muhammad Iqbāl en trouve le secret. Nous avons là, magnifiquement exprimee, come une equivalence musulmane de ce "supplement d'ame" que reclamait Bergson[83], et qu'il demandera vers la fin de sa vie a la mystique chretienne.

Les exigences d'une education humaniste

Mon projet n'est pas d'etendre cette trop breve enquete aux analyses ou aux realisation contemporaines[34]. Je voulais seulements marquer que tout effort d'education et d'enseignement est, en Islam, en continuite avec une tradition deja longue. Les diverses realisations historiques d'humanisme musulman nc sont pas seulement d'heureuses et passageres reussites culturelles. Elles s'enracinent dans un sens exigeant de l'homme, ee son role dans la cite terrestre, et de sa destinee eternelle.

Le developpement de l'education, dans les socites musulmanes contemporaines, se heurte, certes, à mainte difficulte. La principale est peut-etre le brusque emiettement des cadres traditionnels, aux prises avec l'individualisme de l'age moderne. Mais nous devons bien voir ici que ce qu'on appelle "societe traditionnelle" n'est pas lie à l'Islam comme tel; un probleme analogue a marque naguere l'evolution de la chretiente. Pendant des siecles, nous avons eu affaire à une forme d'education familiale et sociale, informee de valeurs musulmanes (ou chretiennes) qui se transmettaient par pure "tradition", par *taqlīd.* Or, dans ces societes structurees et closes d'avant l'ere technique, il existait pour tous une education de fait Elle s'operait par une sorte d'osmose, et souvent alors se dissociait de l'instruction. Ce fut l'un de ses drames, L'analphabetisme allait souvent de pair avec de reelles possibilites d'affinement moral. Faut-il evoquer la finesse et le savoir-vivre (*adab*) de certains milieux ruraux, voire nomades ? leur sens delicat des vertus d'hospitalite et d'entr'aide, leur sens profond de la justice, leur respect de la parole donnee,—ces vertus naturelles que reprend et explicite l'enseignement coranique. Milieux peu lettres sans doute, mais ayant en memoire ou meme creant des recits, enigmes, poemes folkloriques. ou rayonne un vieux fonds de sagesse populaire.

Ces anciennes societes rurales ou nomades, on ne pourrait certes pas les dire sans education. Mais il faut reconnaitre qu'elles se trouvent etrangement demunies devant l'envahissement des efficacites techniques. Tres vite alors elles sont desagregees. La vieille sagesse populaire, quel que soit son charme, abdique, vaincue, C'est que ce mode d'education, tout traditionnel, est d'abord lie a la pure fonction de memoire d'un ensemble sociologique. Ni l'Islam, ni le christianisme, selon

qu'il s'agit de societes musulmanes ou chretiennes, ne sont en cause. Mais les transformations techniques, les bouleversements du monde moderne, soulignent cette necessite d'ordre educatif : chacun doit etre mis à meme d'enrichir et de renouveler (sans la perdre) sa propre culture. Nous rencontrerions ici ce qu'on a appele les "education de rattrapage" : education et instruction des femmes dans les pays ou l'element feminin est encore insuffisamment adapte à certaines formes de vie, education de base et education populaire partout ou l'analphabetisme n'est pas suffisamment vaincu. Faut-il ajouter que de telles perspectives mettent en cause les devoirs respectifs de la famille, des societes intermediaires, de l'Etat?

C'est tout cela dont un renouveau d'humanisme musulman doit prendre conscience. S'il ne le faisait qu'en se mettant passivement à l'ecole des techniques occidentales, le risque serait grand pour lui de n'y trouver que depersonnalisation. et l'oubli de ses richesses propres. Ces techniques, il lui faut les assumer, certes, en tout ce qu'elles ont de valuable, mais il lui faut en meme temps les mettre au service de valeurs plus hautes que la seule effiacite immediate : et cela, sans retard, selon un rythme accelere, car la solution est urgente.

S'il est permis à un philosophe chretien des cultures d'elever ici la voix, je dirais : la reponse. en milieu musulman, peut venir, me semble-t-il, d'une reprise interiorisee et re-actualisee du sens proprement islamique de la personne humaine, selon les trois perspectives esquissees au debut de ces pages. Et cette reprise à son tour, passe à travers la tradition elaboree du grand age classique.

La premiere et la troisieme perspectives se completent ici en une unite contrastee. "L'homme, temoin de Dieu" : et telle est bien la vue centrale qui oriente l'education de l'enfant et du jeune homme dans la pensee d'un Ghazzālī aussi bien que d'un Iqbal. "Obligation de reflechir sur les signes de l'univers" tel fut au cours des ages le moteur, souvent oublie il est vrai qui anima le respect des societes musulmanes pour toute acquisition legitime du savoir theorique ou pratiqve. Une lutte d'influence n'y fut pas rare entre sciences religieuses et sciences profanes. Il ne faut pas oublier cependant que le grandes mosquees-universites furent les premieres a mettr ua

point ce que le moyen âge chretien appellera les "arts liberaux". Entre le X° et le XIV° siecles, on peut dire que les centres unversitaires du Caire ou de Cordoue. par exemple, formerent des generations d'humanistes; et l'on sait combien les corporations d'etudiants et de professeurs etaient vivantes dans les villes musulmanes de l'epoque. L'oeuvre d'Ibn Khaldūn, et les chapitres qu'il consacre aux "sciences", en portent temoignage. Un peu plus tard, une sorte de sclerose s'opera. Les causes en furent multiples, elles furent souvent etudiees, je n'y reviendrai pas. Et voici qu'à l'aurore du siecle present, une brisure apparut entre un enseignement traditionnel devenu sclerose, et la mise en place d'un enseignement moderne à l'instar de l'Occident. Reformes, parfois audacieuses, des grandes mosquees, mise en harmonie du legs classique et des innovations modernes, les efforts se sont multiplies pour retrouver, par cela cette brisure, le principe d'une vitale unite. La plupart des programmes recents, qu'il s'agisse des Universites d'Etat ou de l'enseignement prive, vont en ce sens.

La tache est difficile. Elle ne sera menee à bien que si l'acquisition des sciences et des techniques s'integre harmonieusement à une formation morale de la personne humaine. Et telle est l'exigence centrale de la deuxieme perspective coranique que nous avons cru pouvoir souligner : l'homme ne sera vraiment lieu-tenant de Dieu sur terre que s'il sait d'une part acquerir et maitriser toute connaissance legitime, y compris les sciences et les techniques les plus poussees, et d'autre part subordonner leur usage à une finalite plus haute. La formation morale et spirituelle du "temoin de Dieu" demandee par les diverses traditions ṣūfies se parfait ici par la formation sociale et civique de ce *khalīfat Allāh*, tout homme digne de ce nom, qui a charge de faire regner en la cite terrestre "les droits de Dieu et des hommes" (*ḥuqūq Allāh wa huqūq adamiyyīn*). N'est-ce point là le principle de solution entrevu par les *salafiyya*, et plus explicitement affirme par Muhammad Iqbāl ?

Un renouveau d'humanisme musluman suppose que soient assumees les exigences actuelles d'une education et d'une formation humaines appropriees. Mais ces exigences à leur tour s'enracinent en des principes elabores, ou du moins prefigures, par les grands penseurs de l'age classique et de l'epoque contemporaine. Une fois de plus, c'est en restant fidele a ses aspira-

tions les plus profondes, dans une continuite lucide (et critique au besoin) avec le meilleur de son propre passe, que la pensee musulmane sera à meme de rester ouverte aux problemes nouveaux que la civilisation moderne ne cesse de poser. C'est en restant soi-meme, en toute lucidite et sympathie à l'egard des autres, que l'on peut le mieux s'universaliser. Son sens de l'homme et de l'education humaine ne sera pas le moindre apport d'un humanisme musulman renove à la culture universelle.

NOTES

1. La meme note se retrouverait, analogiquement, a propos *du* et *des* humanismes chretiens.
2. *Coran*, 75; 38.
3. *Id* 51, 56.
4. *Id* 7, 172.
5. Textes coraniques tres nombreux v g., 2, 118, 164; 3, 190; 6, 99; 13, 2-3; 24. 43-54, etc.
6. ed Luzac, London. 1957.
7. *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, 7, ed du Caire 1347 H./1928, t I, p. 195—198.
8. *Id.*, 19, p 236
9. Cf. *Mīzān al-'amal*, ed. du Caire, 1328 H., p 77-78.
10. *Ayyuhā al-walad*, ed. U N.E S C.O., Beyrouth 1951 (texte arabe et trad francaise), p. 36-37.
11. *Ihyā', 'ulūm al-dīn*, ed. du Caire 1352 h /1933, t II, p 212.
12. T I, p. 49-52.
13. Cf egalement *Mīzān al-'amal*, p.111 . grace a l'aide de sa famille, l'homme peut se liberer des "affaires de ce monde", et s'adonner des lors aux choses de Dieu
14. *Iḥyā'*, I, p 49.
15. *Id.*, p.50
16. *Id* , p.51.
17. Ed citee note 10.
18. Voir leur enumeration p 38 -39 . support des epreuves, (habitude de) la priere, reconnaissance a l'egard de Dieu et abandon a Dieu, certitude interieure, paix de l'ame, magnanimite et humilite, science et veridicite, pudeur; fidelite, serieux, calme, reflexion
19. *Ayyuhā al-walad*, p.46-47.

20. *Mīzān al-ʿamal*, p. 74-103.

21 *Muqaddima*, chap. 6, ed. du Caire, s.d., p. 303-304

22. *Id.*, p. 304.

23. *Id.*, p. 303.

24. Voir J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār*, ed. G.P. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1954, p. 188 –190.

25. *Tafsīr al-Manār*, (ed. du Caire, 1328-1330 H.), V, 84.

26. *Id.* (1346 H.), I, 366.

27. V, 86—88.

28. *Id.* (2° ed 1366 H.), III, 324 Cf. J. Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 188-189.

29. *Al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma*, al-*ujmā* ed du Caire, 1341 H., p 78-80 (trad. franc. ap. Henri Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Reshīd Riḍā*, Damas-Beyrouth, 1938, p. 132-134).

30. Voir, par exemple, Radhakumud Mookerji, *Les systemes d'education hindous*, ap. *Approches de l'Inde*; ed. "Cahiers du Sud", Marseille, 1949, p. 278-292

31. *Muhammad Iqbāl : un theoricien de l'education dans le monde islamique*, ap. *Cahiers de Toumliline, II*, Rabat, 1958, p. 213-217. Egalement : K.G. Saiyidain, *Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy*, ed. Ashraf Press, Lahore

32. En temoigne, entre bien d'autres ecrits, *The Reconstruction af Religious Thought*, reed. 1960, Ashraf Press, Lahore.

33. Cf. *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, ed. Alcan, Paris, 1932, p. 335

34. La liste en serait abondante. Elle est loin d'etre close.

ISLAMIC VALUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

There is in Europe and America a strong prejudice against Islam—a prejudice which may be traced to the influence of the war-propaganda of Crusading times (the twelfth to fourteenth Christian centuries). It is well-known that in war-time propagandists say all the bad they can of the enemy. While this prejudice has greatly decreased during the last century, it is still more difficult for an occidental to appreciate Islam than to appreciate, say, Buddhism. The present writer has come to hold that the time is now ripe for a frontal attack on the remains of this prejudice. There is already scholarly documentation of the way in which the prejudice developed. This now needs to be complemented by an attempt to show occidentals—both Christians and humanists—that Islam has values which are relevant in the modern world, and that they themselves have something to learn from various aspects of Islamic thought and experience. The material in the present article is part of this attempt and has been used in lectures and informal discussions in Britain. While the interests of the readers of this volume are likely to be different, it may be to them to see what an occidental scholar of Islam thinks the Occident has to learn from Islam at the present time.

In particular three fields are indicated in which Islam has a contribution to make to the single world culture of the future. This contribution is not something entirely novel, but consists in emphasizing or re-emphasizing something that the Occident has known but has neglected or forgotten. The three fields might be entitled . the Muslim's awareness of God as a present reality ; the belief in the religious community as bringing salvation ; and the place of religion in social and political relationships.

(*1*) *Awareness af God as a present reality.* Many of contemporary Christian discussions about God leave with the impression that the participants consider God nteresting idea, even one that is again becoming a proper ject on which to sharpen one's academic wits ; but this ı seems to have little connection with any sphere of reality ch affects our daily living. Very different is the attitude he older Muslim writers—an attitude which persists in the dern devout Muslim. They always speak of God as a ıg of whom one has to take serious account in numerous isions every day. A similar attitude is to be found in lieval Christian and Jewish writers, but it is extremely ; among contemporary Christians. To understand this tude in its specifically Islamic form we have to go back he late sixth century before Muhammad began preach-

The pre-Islamic Arab of the desert had a strong sense of ıt the religious person might call "creatureliness", though the Arab himself it was a secular matter. He was convinc- through repeated failure and frustration, that attempts to ı ahead were futile. This is not a conviction restricted to ıadic Arabs, of course. The same thought had passed ›ugh the head of Robert Burns—"the best-laid schemes o' e and men gang aft agley". The nomadic Arab, however, ns to have held this conviction more deeply than most ;r men. He saw how often important events were deter- ed by an accidental concatenation of circumstances. A nce encounter in the desert might have momentous conse- nces , had one of the parties been a little earlier or a little r, or had his route been a few miles to the right or to the , the encounter might never have taken place, a death ,ht not have taken place, a blood-feud might not have been ırred. Small wonder that the Arab became convinced that date of his death was fixed, and that nothing he did could ten or postpone it. He also felt that it was ineluctably ;rmined whether his life was on the whole to be happy and sperous or miserable and wretched. Even the food he ded to sustain life was predetermined in this way—a not prising conviction in a land where rainfall is completely ıtic, and where its presence or absence in a given district y lead to abundance or to famine.

Thus the Arab of the desert was convinced, not that every day and hour of a man's life was fixed beforehand, but that all the important points were fixed and that, do what he might, he could not escape them. He saw men as being in the last resort subjected to forces altogether beyond their control. We should nowadays speak of these as natural forces, but the desert Arab seems to have thought of them as a totality. He usually spoke of them as "time" (*dahr*, *zaman*) or "the days" (*ayyam*). It is not necessary here to consider parallels to this view in Persia and elsewhere, or to discuss whether "time" here is equivalent to fate. The Arab certainly did not worship time, or in any way cringe before it. For him it was merely a natural or—might one say?—scientific fact about the world.

What is more relevant for us to notice is that this conviction is the basis of attitudes without which life in the desert is almost impossible. The camel-breeding nomad had chosen one of the hardest types of life on this planet. His staple food is the milk of his camels ; he may be able to buy some cereals and dates with the fees which he earns by guaranteeing protection to caravans which pass through his territories He has to cover vast stretches of country searching for desert vegetation for his camels to eat. At any one of a hundred points things may go wrong and in a moment he is face to face with severe hardship, even death. Only his conviction that the big things in his life are already fixed enables him to face such difficulties cheerfully. If he tried to foresee every emergency and to take precautions against it, he would worry so much that he would be unfit for life in the desert. His conviction that his sustenance and his death are predetermined sets him free from anxiety. He takes reasonable precautions and leaves the rest to "time", he himself being ready to grin and bear if things turn out badly for himself and his tribe.

The Muslims took over much of this attitude, but instead of speaking of "time", they spoke about "God". Some of them had at least a vague awareness that they had made this identification of "time" with God and circulated a tradition in which God was asserted to say, "I am Time". This identification will be easier to understand if certain features of the Islamic conception of God are carefully noted. A Muslim is

intention referring to the same Being as Christians when he eaks of God or *Allah*, but his conception of him differs mewhat, and it is important to see where the differences are. lere are, for example, in the Qur'an many references to rsons mentioned in the book of *Genesis* in the Bible. In the ur'an itself these references are scattered and haphazard, it later Muslim scholars like at-Tabari, using further Biblical aterials, fitted them into a chronological scheme such is found in *Genesis*. This leads the modern occidental udent of Islam to suppose that in the Qur'an, as in the Bible, od is depicted as active in a history of mankind through iich runs a single main strand—Adam, Noah, Abraham, seph, and so on. For the followers of Muhammad in his etime, however, this was not so. They were not interest- in the order of events in the book of *Genesis*. For them e human history in which God was active was one in which ere was a multiplicity of tribes which appeared, flourished r a time, and then disappeared. Like an individual, a tribe community had its term (*ajal*), the date of its disappear- ce, fixed in advance. Adam is mentioned, but no reference made to the fact that he is the father of all men. oah is mentioned, but he is simply one prophet among any, sent to warn his particular tribe that, unless they rn to God and worship and obey him, they will be drowned a flood; there is no hint that the whole of mankind is in danger.

Because of this way of conceiving the history in which od is active, the Qur'anic conception of God is different om that of *Genesis*. There are allusions to the creation of e heavens and the earth in six days, but there is absolutely emphasis on this creation in the distant past. Instead, od is presented as the Lord of the heavens and the earth io is active and operative *in the present*. He creates man causing the embryo to grow in the womb. He produces od by bringing the rain and causing the plants to spring from the earth. Many of the earlier passages of the ur'an recount these and similar "signs" by which man ay know and recognize the power of God. At the same ne man is warned that the communities of those who sbelieve in God will sooner or later be punished; and the inishment will be by the action of God on this earth in

the future. Thus God may be said to be conceived as the totality of the force determing man in the present. To this extent he is identical with the "time" of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The difference lies in the fact that he is also the Merciful and Compassionate. However stern and inscrutable this Lord may be, men are assured that they and their destiny are of concern to the Being at the centre of the universe.

If we turn from this Qur'anic way of looking at man's life to the needs of the contemporary occidental world, do we not see the possibility of a link-up? The development of science in modern times may be said to have had two results : on the one hand, it has made man proud and arrogant in respect of his achievements and potential achievements; on the other hand, it has shown him that his life is determined, much more than his forefathers thought possible, by various external forces—physical, chemical, psychical, social. How is he to think of these forces in their totality? Is this "totality" something like the Time of the pre-Islamic Arabs? Many of our contemporaries seem to think so. They speak of the world as one in which the ultimate controlling powers are not concerned with man's weal or woe Yet Christian attempts to deal with this problem are not altogether satisfactory. The first chapter of *Genesis* has loomed too large in Christian thought. It has been closely linked with the Aristotelian conception of the Unmoved Mover, which is not specifically Christian, but was for long a part of the dominant conception of the universe. The result in the mind of the ordinary occidental man is a picture of God as a remote Being who set the universe going millions of years ago, but since then has left it largely to its own devices; in the present he certainly does not interfere with scientific laws. If the ordinary man's intellect is stimulated, it is to ask how this picture of God is to be fitted into modern theories about the origin of the universe, over which the scientists themselves are disputing.

In this sorry state of affairs it is time that occidental man forgot his preoccupations with origins and considered seriously this Islamic emphasis on the activity of God in the present? There is scope for generations of intellectual

effort, but there is first of all a desparate need to recover the conviction. Many so-called Christians no longer believe that this is God's world and that whatever happens in it is ultimately his doing. They do not believe that the decision whether mankind is destroyed by its bombs this century or is given several centuries more is ultimately God's decision, and that the greatest human efforts can do nothing about it. Such men are in danger of failing for much the same reason as Arabs might fail in the desert—because they worry too much trying to work out plans to meet every emergency. If men want to avoid the anxiety which pervades the complex civilization of today, they must listen to the message of the Qur'an on this point—that it is wise to take reasonable precautions and then to admit one's creatureliness and to trust in God, the Merciful and Compassionate, who is the ultimate controller of all mundane events.

(2) *Belief in the religious community as bringing salvation.*

Once again, in order to appreciate this point fully, we have to go back to the pre-Islamic Arab. Not all indeed, but at least many of the Arabs of the desert believed that everything of value in their lives came to them from their tribe. They did not know about genes, but they were firmly convinced that certain qualities of character were carried by the tribal or family stock It was only possible for a man to to do noble deeds if he came of noble stock. The position of chief of a tribe was not hereditary (as they understood in the occident) since there was no law of primogeniture (the succession of the eldest son); it was normal for the chief to be chosen from a particular family which was reckoned to transmit chiefly qualities by the family stock. Thus a man was dependent on the tribe in many ways. To the tribe he owed the origin of his individual life through his father, and also his continued existence, since it was only through the solidarity of the tribe that he obtained in the desert the material necessities of life. More important even than this, however, it was only the tribe through its blood in his veins which made it possible for him to achieve something of value and significance in his life.

Some of these feelings which desert Arabs attached to their tribe many Muslims came to attack to the Islamic

community as a whole. The process began with the sect of heretical Muslims known as the Kharijites. Some of these, though little better than bands of brigands, were trying to reconstitute or create on a religious basis small quasis-tribal groups. The developments have been recorded in detail, but connot be described here. Eventually an attitude towards the whole community similiar to that of a Kharijite towards his small group was adopted by the main body of Muslims, the Sunnites. This attitude has helped to produce the strong sense of communal solidarity still felt by Muslims, and also the pride they commonly evince in their community—a factor contributing in no small way to the expansion of Islam in various parts of the world. For Sunnite Muslim their community is a charismatic one, though they may not use that word nor any word corresponding to it. It is charismatic because in their eyes it has supernatural gifts, in which the members of the community share and from which they benefit. If questioned, they might say that it was divinely founded in that God sent his *rasul* or messenger Muhammad to found it and to give it its "revealed way of life," its Shari'a. This "revealed way of life" was known from the Qur'an and still more from that amplification of the Qur'an, the example or standard set by Muhammad, his *sunna*—the term from which the name "Sunnite" comes.

For the most part, however, the Muslims thought of their community as a "saving" or "salvation-bringing" one (*firqa najiya*), and they gave this an eschatological interpretation. The earlier passages of the Qur'an speak of the Last Judgment as a weighing of an individual man's deeds, implying that if the good preponderate he goes to Paradise, if the bad to Hell. Other parts of the Qur'an move the emphasis back from individualism to communalism, and speak of communities becoming corporately involved in disobedience to God and, as communities, going to Hell. More and more, later Muslims emphasized this aspect of communal solidarity. It is above all important for a man to be a member of the Islamic community, and not to do anything to forfeit that membership. The Kharijites had said that a man who committed a grave sin lost his membership of the community, while some extremists on the opposite

de said that, if a man was a member of the community, ns did not matter. Most Muslims, however, agreed that ns were serious, but they gave weight to the communal ıpect by developing the doctrine of Muhammad's right ' intercession for the members of his community. Muslims ho sined, they held, would be punished; but because of [uhammad's intercession the punishment would not be in ell for eternity. It might be in this world or it might be Hell; but, if the latter, it would be only for a limited time ıd they would eventually go to Paradise.

Eschatological conceptions of this kind are ways of expres- ng something about the universe that is in part beyond e grasp of our intellects; but such conceptions at least ve us a rough picture or map of certain aspects of the ıiverse, and this picture enables us to make an appropriate 'actical response. With an eschatological belief such as the ıe oulined a man will certainly try to avoid sins; but should : commit one major sin, he will not feel that he is hope- ssly lost, even though the immediate temporal consequences e serious. Few occidentals, of course, would admit to :lieving that one major sin leads to damnation for enternity. et many occidentals are as anxious about such sins as they believed they automatically led to eternal damnation. ıis anxiety is probably one more result of an attitude pecially common among Anglo-Saxons, which makes men ink they have to earn Paradise by their good deeds. Most ficial Christian teaching, of course, deals very adequately e with this matter through its doctrines of the forgiveness ' sins, of grace, and so forth; but this teaching has ıgularly little effect on common attitudes. In particular e persona or image of a Christian is that of one who aintains high standards in various overt sectors of life; ıd this presona can be destroyed by a single serious pse. Those who are not practising Christians and who ay have some serious lapses in their past record are ghtened away from the Christian community because they :l they cannot aspire to the persona of Christian respect- ıility. One of the consequences of this persona is over- xiety about sins which breaks it, often to the neglect or sregard of all other sins which do not affect a man's spectability.

This is a point where Christian thinkers are much more fully aware of what is wrong than in the case of the first point. Yet even here, it may be suggested, they have something to learn from the special Islamic emphasis, especially the emphasis on membership of the community. Such an emphasis is indeed also found in Christianity, notably in Orthodoxy, in Catholicism, and in a few small Protestant sects; but it is often obscured for ordinary men who are not devout members of these bodies. What Islam specially emphasizes is that, provided one is a member of a rightly-guided community, one's sins are not irremediable; the remedy for them, however, is not something individualistic, but primarily just one's membership of the community.

Emphasis on the religious community as charismatic, whether in a Christian or a Muslim form is also important as one contemplates the growing unity of the world in external ways, such as the rapidity and ease of transport. Such external unity, however, will lead only to greater social and political disharmony unless men have some awareness of belonging together corporately. Yet the obvious conception, that of the unity of mankind, is not likely to inspire anyone greatly. Man can only find value in belonging to a corporate body if he is able to recognize it as a bearer of values, as a meaningful community which gives meaning or significance to the lives of its members. In short it must be a charismatic community of the type of the Islamic community. The "community of mankind" is not such a community. It would seem that only the religions can provide a community of the kind required; and Islam has a very fine record for achieving brotherhood and a sense of belonging together among men of widely different races.

(3) *Religion in social and political life.* For the nomad to wrest a living from the desert is, as Arnold Toynbee has remarked, a *tour de force*. Among other things it presupposes the attainment of a high level of human excellence, especially excellence in the skills of living together. The ideal of human excellence, however, because it was adapted to the special conditions of the desert, had certain restrictions. Because each tribe was virtually a sovereign unit, potentially or actually at war with all other tribes except its allies, there was little need

to show any regard for members of alien tribes; correspondingly the nomad was expected to support his kinsmen in any quarrel irrespective of the rights or wrongs of the matter. The great enemy, of course, was "stepmotherly nature", and the greatest of nomadic virtues was *sabr*, patient endurance of hardsip and misfortune, to which later Muslims added patient endurance of God's commands. In the ethical field it might be held that the achievement of Islam was the adaptation to the lives of city-dwellers of the complex elements of the nomadic ideal of human excellence; just as in the political field much from the nomadic conception of the tribe as a charismatic community was taken over into the Islamic conception of the body politic. Let us look further at this general question of the place of religion in social and political life.

It would appear that, in the later seventeenth century after the wars of religion, part of the elite of European society turned away from religion in disgust. Even those Europeans who remained religious transformed their religion into a purely private affair which was not relevant to politics. As a result of this transformation the modern occidental tends to think of political life as something almost wholly secular and to think of religion as something kept in a private compartment insulated from public life except when it adopts anti-social forms of expression. This isolation of religion, of course, is a phenomenon restricted to Europe and the occident during the last three centuries. Everywhere else in the world religion has been in the thick of life. A few occidentals are now realizing that such isolation of religion is not satisfactory. Religious protests against modern war in general and nuclear bombs in particular are one form of the attempt to bring religion back into the political field; to my mind this particular attempt is not a happy one, since it does not touch the fundamental question and since it over-simplifies a complex political issue. Other groups are attempting in other ways to bring religion out of its isolation.

In Islam the situation is quite different. Islamic law or the Sharīà is not law as the occident understands it but an ideal, covering every asepct of human conduct. One comes close to describing it by saying it is an ethical ideal; but one then has to add that in addition to what occidentals reckon as ethics it

has regulations about precise forms of worship, and precepts on questions of etiquette and personal hygiene. It has a potential relevance to political life, but the political side was never elaborated. Muslim scholars have always regarded the Sharīa as prescribing to Muslims how they ought to conduct the whole of their lives. In practice, however, the Sharia has only been observed very partially. In a particular country the section, say, on marriage and inheritance would be put into effect, if the ruler of the country decreed that this should be so, and if he appointed a judge and a court to administer this section of the Sharia. Even in the social or ethical field the religious scholars have been far from dictating to the ordinary man how he is to live his life; some centuries ago when the jurists said coffee-drinking was wrong, they were forced to alter their views because ordinary men went on drinking coffee.

In this sphere there is at least one point at which occidentals have something to learn. It is widely held among them that politics and social ethics have a proper autonomy. Such autonomy, however, only means that political decisions are to be based on political considerations and that ethical questions are to be decided on ethical grounds. It does not mean that the fields of politics and social ethics are to be isolated from religion. What this amounts to in practice may be seen by looking at the conduct of medieval Islamic politicians. In its higher reaches politicall ife was a "free for all"; in this field not even lip service was paid to the Sharià, but at time it was normal for a fallen minister to be put to death and have his property confiscated. Nevertheless through all the ups and down almost all Muslim rulers and ruling institutions kept in sight the conception of an Islamic state. This is a state or community which is so politically organized and socially structured that the ordinary Muslim is able to live as a good Muslim, that is to say, is able to earn a livelihood for himself and his dependents, has time over to practise the duties of his religion such as worship, and is able to do this freely, thereby preparing himself for the life of the world to come.

What is the relevance of this for the occidental who wants to see religion once more involved in the political sphere? The reason why Islamic rulers nearly always paid attention to the religious conception of the ultimate end of the state was that

ıey knew that the great majority of ordinary men were deeply .tached to their religion and would react violently against ıything they interpreted as an attack on it. The intellectual orld of the rulers, too, apart from their particular sphere of ɔlitics, was simply that created for them by the religious scho- rs of previous generations. The lesson seems to be clear for ıyone who wants to bring religion to bear on politics. It is ɔ use producing blueprints and trying to get politicians to ;cept them. The only way for a religion to influence politics for it to have a large number of adherents devoted to their ligious community, and for its religious scholars to have out- ought their secular rivals in producing a consistent view of e universe in accordancee with their rivals' premises.

These then are three points at which it would appear the oc- dent has something to learn from the Islamic world. That st these three points should have been mentioned will sur- ise some readers. It is not, of course, suggested that these e the only contributions Islam has to make to the world of day and tomorrow. There are doubtless many others. Yet ese three are of considerable importance; and the very fact at they have been selected here may itself provide food for ought.

IJAZA BY CORRESPONDENCE

A. J. ARBERRY

The granting of certificates by teachers and authors to their student—a kind of forerunner of university degrees and diplomas—occupied an important and interesting part in the educational system of medieval Islam.[1] Many old manuscripts abound in such study notes, and furnish valuable information well deserving of collection. In this brief paper an account is given of the contents of a tract on the system of awarding *ijazas*. The title of the work is *al-Wajiz fi dhikr al-mujaz wa'l mujiz*, and its author was the famous traditionist Abu Tahir Ahmad b. Muhammed b. Ahmad al-Silafi al-Isbahani (472-576/1079-1180)[2]. The treatise consists of a fairly brief preface discussing the validity of *ijazas* granted by letter—a sort of prototype of the 'correspondence course'-- after which the author lists the famous scholars who accorded him certificates of this kind, set out city by city. The essay is preserved, apparently uniquely, in Chester Beatty MS. 4874, folios 1-19.

BAGHDAD

(1) Abu Muhammad Rizq Allah b. Abdal-Wahhab al-Tamimi al-Hanbali (d. 488/1059)[3]. He visited Isfahan when al-Silafi was still a child; the latter attended his classes, then later when Rizq Allah was back in Baghdad he obtained *ijazas* from him by correspondence. Al-Silafi first entered Baghdad in 493/1100, when Rizq Allah was dead.

(2) Abu Abd Allah al-Husain b. Ahmad b. Talha al-Niali (d. 493/1099-1100)[4]. He wrote to al-Silafi in 491/1098, but died in Safar in the very year in which al-Silafi entered Baghdad.

(3) Abul-Fawaris Tirad b. Muhammad b. Ali al-Zainabi al-Hashimi (398-491/1008)[5], of noble descent. He wrote al-Silafi an *ijaza* in 491/1098, but died on the last day of Shauwal in the same year.

(4) Abu Tahir Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Baqillani I16-89/1025-96).[6] Al-Silafi studied under his brother Abu ihalib Muhammad (d.500/1106-7)[7] after entering Baghbad.

(5) Abul-Hasan Ahmad b. Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad b. 'usuf al-Isbahani al-Baghdadi (d. 492/1099).[8] He travelled to gypt and Tunisia, as well as Mecca and Diyar Bakr.

(6) Abul-Hasan Alı b. al-Husain b. Ali b. Aiyub al-Bazzaz l-Mausili (410-92/1019-99).[9] He was an unique transmitter of ıe *Ma ani al-Qur' an* of Abu Ishaq al-Zajjaj (d. 311/923).[10]

(7) Muhammad b. Mahammad b. Ubaid Allah b. Ahmad al-'kbari (d. ? 493/1100). He was ill when al-Sılafi entered aghdad, and al-Silafi attended his funeral.

(8) Abul-Fadl Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. Khairun al-Baghdadi I06-88/1015-95)[11].

(9) Abul-Fadl Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Tauq (d. 494/1101), hose funeral al-Sılafi attended, after praying for hım in the (at ıat time newly founded) Nizamiya Madrasa.

BASRA

(10) Abu Tahır Jafar b. Abi Bakr al-Abbadani al-Basıi I04-93/1013-1100).[12]

(11) Abu Umar Muhmmad b. Ahmad b. Umar al-Nihawandi.

(12) Abul-Faraj Muhammad b. Ubaid Allah b. al-Husain l-Qadi (d. 499/1105).

(13) Abu Tahır Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-)abbas al-Malıki (b. 417/1026).

(14) Abu Tahir Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim . Mahmuya al-Abdi (429-500/1037-1106).

MECCA

(15) Abu Maktum Isa b. Abi Dharr 'Abd al-Rahman al-larawi (415-97/1024-1104).[13]

(16) Abul-Fadl Muhammad b. Umar b. Abd al-Aziz b. Tahir al-Bukhari, who wrote to al-Silafi from Mecca in 524/1130.

(17) Abu Nasr Muhammad b. Hibat Allah b. Thabit Allah b. Thabit al-Bandaniji al-Shafii.

(18) Abul-Qasim Mahmud b. Umar b. Muhammad al-Zamakhshari, the famous grammarian and exegete (467-538/1074-1143) [14]

(19) Abu Shuja Umar b. Muhammad b. Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Bistami al-Balkhi (476-562/1084-1167)[15] who wrote to al-Silafi from Mecca in 524/1130.

(20) Abu Muhammad Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Isma il b. Sadaqa. b. Ghazzal al-Misri (450-524/1058-1130).[16]

(21) Abul-Hasan Razin b. Muawiya b. Ammar al-Andalusi (d.535/1140).[17]

(22) Abu Zaid al-Hasan b Ali b. al-Fadl al-Tabari, who wrote to al-Silafi from Mecca in 528/1134.

(23) Abu Isa Nabt b. Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Nahdi al-Yamani, who wrote to al-Silafi in 526/1132.

MOSUL

(24) Abul-Qasim Nasr b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Safwan al-Dhahli.

HAMADHAN

(25) Ismail b. Muhammad b. Uthman b. Ahmad al-Qumasani (d. 498/1105).[18] who wrote to al-Silafi in 494/1101.

(26) Abul-Badi Sad b. Ali al-Ijli.

(27) Abd al-Wahid b. Ahmad b. Abd Allah b. Bundar,

(28) Abul-Faraj Muhmmad b. Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Muarrim, who wrote to al-Silafi in 494/1101.

(29) Maki b. Bunjir b. Abd Allah al-Shaar.

(30) Abd al-Ghaffar b. Muhammad.

(31) Muhammad b. Jayar (?) b. Ali called Wafa'.

(32) Nasr b. Muhammad b. Ali b. Zirak.

(33) Abul-Hasan Faid b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Shadhi al-Sha 'rani, who wrote to al-Silafi from Baghdad in 491/1098.

(34) Abu Thabit Bunjir b. Mansur al-Hamadhani.

ASADABAD

(35) Abu Hafs Umar b. Ali b. Jibril al-Qaiyim.

(36) Abul-Fadl Zafar b. al-Da 'i b. Mahdi al-'Alawi.

KHURASAN

(37) Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Ghaffar b. Muhammad b. al-Husain al-Shirawi.

FOOTNOTES

(1) See I Goldziher in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II 446-7, and of. M. Bencheneb, *Etudes sur les personnages mentionnes dans l' Idjaza du Sheikh 'Abdel Qadir el-Fasy*, A J. Arberry, *Sakhawiana* 3-13.

(2) See C. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* I 365, Suppl. I 624. For a manuscript in his autograph, see my *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, Plate 103.

(3) Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-dhahab* III 384.

(4) *Shadharat* III 399.

(5) *Shadharat* III 396.

(6) *Shadharat* III 392.

(7) *Shadharat* III 412.

(8) *Shadharat* III 396.

(9) *Shadharat* III 398.

(10) See Brockelmann I 110, Suppl I 170.

(11) *Shadharat* III 383.

(12) *Shadharat* III 399.

(13) *Shadharat* III 406

(14) See Brockelmann I 289-93, Suppl. I 507-13.

(15) *Shadharat* IV 206.

(16) *Shadharat* IV 69.

(17) See Brockelmann, Suppl. I 630.

(18) Yaqut, *Mu jam al-buldan* (Cairo ed.) VII 185.

THE UNITY OF MAN

DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF

The problem of the Unity of man has assumed a significant importance in the context of the present-day world, torn as it is by internal tensions, both national and international, and moving headlong towards the brink of a precipice from where one false step may end in a dreadful fall.

Of the forces which have been at work to accelerate this unhappy process, religion has at times been noticeably more active than the rest. The primary function of religion is to promote in man the sense of harmony in life so as to help him be at peace with himself and at peace with his external world of relations, and thus serve as a factor for a united life of progress and happiness for mankind Curiously, however, it has, in the course of history, yielded its abiding purpose, essentially moral and spiritual, to disturbing vested interests functioning on political and material planes, and worked to divide man from man. This sad story is more or less common to every established religious faith. Necessarily, therefore, the different faiths have been obliged to put on an exclusive aspect peculiar to each, precluding thereby the possibility of creating a common platform to enter on for the members of the different faiths and have the opportunity of working together for their common good.

If religion is ever to be a force for unity among mankind, it will be up to the earnest among us to go direct to the very soul of one's faith undeterred by the form it might have assumed under historic pressures, and ask of it what exactly it connotes for the well-being of the individual and of mankind as a whole at this hour of their need. For, that way alone, in my humble view, may lie the possibility of creating understanding and goodwill between man and man such as may give rise to a peaceful order of life for mankind. I may

venture to suggest to the UNESCO and even to the U.G.C. of our country, to give a serious thought to this proposition and organise research to locate the right material in this behalf from the scriptures of the different faiths and give wide publicity to it and thereby open the door for a right understanding and appreciation of each other's faith which is the crying need of the hour and without which a world order is not possible to build.

That the right type of material or the basic reality of religion, which I have in view, does exist in the scriptures of all revealed faiths, I feel certain, although it may be lying shrouded under heavy accretions. I say this because I believe in the rationality of the contention of the Quran that the basic reality of religion or the basic Faith which was divinely delivered to Prophet Muhammad of Arabia was but the same Faith as had been delivered to the Prophets gone before him, and that there was no section of humanity or part of the world to whom or to which a Prophet was not sent for the guidance of man. What that basic reality is has now to be traced in the scripture of every established religion in the world.

To stimulate thought in this direction among earnest minds everywhere, and indicate the line of approach to the subject, I propose to give here just a bird's eye view of the basic reality of religion such as I find in the Quran I have selected the Quran for this purpose for the obvious reason that having been born to it and brought up under its influence, I have had naturally special opportunities of giving to its ideology particular attention.

The call of the Quran, as it seems to me, is summed up in but a few words—"*Aminu wa amil-us-salihati*" or "Believe and work righteously." It is round this brief utterance that the entire Quran revolves.

Of the doctrinal beliefs, which a follower of the Quran has to profess and earnestly attempt to implement in his activity, the belief in the Unity of God occupies a pivotal position in the Quranic ideology. The idea that there is none worthy of worship except God, the Creator and Sustainer of all that there is in the Universe, sweeps off all distinction of race and colour

and every hierarchical conception of life, and invests hun nature with a dignity of its own by placing man next to C and making righteous living the sole criterion of superio of one over another. It necessarily postulates a program of living for man which shall help him to be at peace with h self and at peace with his world of external relations. other words, the belief in the Unity of God has to expr itself in a sincere and sustained effort to promote the w being and unity of mankind as a whole.

So great is the importance attached by the Quran to promotion and maintenance of the unity of man that Prophet of Islam looks upon all mankind, indeed all creatu of God, as but a single family. Says he, "All creatures God form the Family of God (*Iyal Allah*), and he is the t loved of God who loveth best his creatures." (Baihaqi). keeping with this lofty vision, he exclaims: "O Lord ! L of my life and of every thing in the Universe ! I affirm that human beings are brothers unto one another." (Ahmed; A Dawud). With this firm conviction in his mind, the wo order which his soul aspired to see established on Earth w to use his memorable words, to take the form of "a fc every member of which shall be a shepherd or keeper u every other and be accountable for the welfare of the en fold." (Bukhari)

To promote the cause of a universal brotherhood of n the Quran calls upon him first to develop the sense of cath city in human relationship. Religion was one of the import fields, probably the most important in the days of the Proph where conflict thrived. The concern of the Quran was, the fore, to eliminate this conflict. It proclaimed in clear ter as pointed out already, that the Faith ordained for the P phet Muhammad was but the very same faith as had b commended to all prophets gone before him, and that th was no section of humanity among whom a prophet of C was not raised. The Quran, therefore, makes it inct bent on all the followers of the Quran to believe in all prophets and also in the scriptures delivered through th and to make no distinction between any of them (Q. 3 : 1 since these prophets were all of but one or (Q. 23 : 52).

In building up this catholicity of mind, the Quran is careful enough not to let the Arabic speaking people feel that the Arabic language in which the Quranic message is delivered is by any means the exclusive language of God. God expresses himself in all tongues! Says the Quran: "We never sent a messenger save with the speech of his people that he might make himself clear to them." (Q. 14:4).

So wide is the catholic attitude of mind intended to be stimuated in man that the Quran promises freedom from fear and grief and spiritual bliss both here and in the life hereafter, not merely to the people of the Quran, but to those also among whom other scriptures had been delivered (Q.2:62)—not merely to these, but to every human being who acknowledges the value of Divine Unity in human life and recognises responsibility for his action and lives uprightly. (Q. 46:13).

The regret of the Quran, however, is that the basic call issued by every one of the messengers of God in every part of the world gone before had not been properly heeded to by their followers. But how to make them return to it or to the basic reality of religion which they had neglected was the problem before the Quran. To have expected from people such as these to accept the ideology of the Quran in its entirity would have been an idle dream. It, therefore, called upon the Prophet Muhammed not to dispute with them over matters of ritual and law which had been given to each Prophet according to the varying conditions and needs of his people (Q.5:48). Indeed, it asked him to declare that there was no compulsion in religion (Q. 2:256). It, however, called upon the Prophet to invite the followers of the Scriptures atleast to come to a word fair between him and them that they would sincerely adhere to their basic belief in the Unity of God as enjoined by their own Scriptures and act in consonance with that belief (Q. 3:363). The idea was to let this belief in the Unity of God function as a federal link for all of them, and knit them all together into a single family, the Family of God, devoted to righteous living, helpful to each other.

Its supreme insistence on this minimum—belief in the Unity of God, inspiring righteous living in man—was for no other reason than to let that sense of Divine Unity transform itself,

in the field of action, into the sense of the Unit of man. That is the primary implication of the central Quranic injunction, "Believe and work righteously".

As has been pointed out, the Quran expects one who believes in God to express that belief in an earnest endeavour to promote the unity of man. It is by action that he has to prove his belief in God. "God doth not accept faith," says the Prophet, "If it is not expressed in action and doth not accept action, if it does not conform to faith." Says he further: "None among you is a believer in God unless he wishes for brother-man what he wishes for himself." (Bukhari).

The human action which the Quran approves of is that which is inspired by or conforms to the harmonious interaction of the twin forces at work in the life of the universe. One is what I may style as the "Law of movement in life" and the other as the "Law of unity in life." May it be noted that the Quran places no restriction on man's movement in life except what conflicts with the law of unity in life. It repeatedly asserts that all that there is in the Earth and the heavens and in between is harnessed to be of use to man, and that it is up to him to acquire a proper knowledge of every thing so pressed to his service. The only condition attached to the acquisition of such a knowledge is that he should share the benefits thereof equitably not merely with his fellow-beings, the *homo sapiens*, but with God's other creatures as well, since they all form together the Family of God.

Hence it is that the Quran enjoins on man to respect in his day to day activity two specific types of rights. In other words, man has a dual function to discharge in life. One is in relation to himself and the other is in relation to his external world of relations. The one is to acknowledge in thought and action what is styled as "*Huquq Allah*" or the rights of God; the other is to acknowledge equally well the "*Huquq al-Ibad*" or the rights of mankind and other creatures of God.

The discharge of the first of the two responsibilities indicated above has to express itself in a process of self-development-physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. In other words, man's primary responsibility is to invite God, so to say, to

se His right to dwell in him and help him use properly balance set in his nature." (Q. 91:7-10). The other nsibility lies in developing social conscience and working e welfare of others. This is respecting in one's life and ty the rights of others. The two rights may as well be as 'obligations to one's self,' and 'obligations to society ge'. The two types of responsibilities are not, however, regarded as exclusive to each other. They are merely acets of one and the same attitude towards life, of the activity proceeding from it and signify the character of ind one has to develop.

is the state of one's mind which matters in determining aracter of one's action. "Actions rest on motives," says rophet, because motive is the index to the mind which pts action (Bukhari). That is why stress is laid on purity tives, and this purity is promoted by a proper exercise balance set in the nature of man aiming at a harmonious ing of the '*Huquq Allah*' into the '*Huquq al Ibad*' or the ations to self' into the 'obligations to society,' or by fying one's own interests with the interests of the world ge. Such is '*Amal-i-Salih*' or righteous work, which d result from one's faith in God. The directive inspiring ummed up in the words of the Prophet: "Respect the ways *Sunnat Allah*, and be affectionate to the Family of God, *Allah*" (Baihaqi).

e obligations to one's self and the obligations to others re placed side by side to form integral aspects of one's ty in life. Whatever one's role either in one's family or in society at large, one has to be mindful of this dual nsibility. To be so mindful is *Khair* or "Good" and not e so mindful is *Sharr* or "Evil". The distinction is to be d in every sphere of life's activity—physical, intellectual, l, spiritual, social, economic, political, national and national.

o so live is to live in Islam which itself means 'Peace'—peace ed in the devotion of all our faculties to the Will of God is nothing but the '*Sunnai Allah*' or '*Khalq-ar-Rahman*' e laws of life devised in His infinite goodness to work for ony in life expressive of the unity of existence.

The duty of every human being is to see that every little act of his or hers conforms to this law of harmonious living. A true believer in God is expected to say to himself:

> "Verily, my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and death are all for Allah" (Q. 6:163).
>
> The Prophet himself prayed:
>
> "O God! I ask of thee the qualities which move Thy grace and forgiveness. I ask of Thee protection from doing harm to anyone and I ask of Thee the chance of doing good to everyone."—*Hisn al-Hisin.*
>
> "O God! I ask of Thee steadfasteness in every goodly pursuit. I ask of Thee the intent for good action and the power to thank Thee for Thy benevolence and to render Thee devoted service. I ask of Thee the tongue that speaketh truth, and the mind that erreth not and the gift of true fellow-feeling. I seek Thy refuge from the evil of everything that Thou knoweth; and I ask of Thee the good that lieth in everything that Thou knoweth; and I seek Thy refuge from every sin of which Thou hast knowledge. And verily Thou knoweth all that we cannot know".—*Hisn al-Hisin.*
>
> "O God! Improve my spiritual life, for that is to be my refuge; and purify my material life, for I have to live it, and prepare me for the life to which I shall have to return; and keep me alive till it is good for me to be alive, and call me back when it is good for me to die. Lengthen my life in every goodly state, and turn death into bliss before any evil state supervenes".—*Hisn al-Hisin.*

Life thus viewed, every action of man assumes a spiritual aspect. It is this aspect which distinguishes '*Amal-i-Salih*' from every other form of human activity. The spirit underlying it—whatever the field of expression, the '*Huquq Allah*' or '*Huquq al-Ibad*'—is the result of a harmonious interaction of the twin spiritual faculties in man—the sense of God and the sense of

fellow-feeling. It is this which supplies the emotional background to the display in every situation of a third faculty, the sense of "balance set in his nature" (Q. 91:7-10)—essentially an intellectual force—and gives to the resultant action the quality of righteousness which the Quran speaks of. To pursue the path of righteousness or *Amal-i-Salih* is in reality to "respect the ways of God, and to show affection to the family of God".

So keen is the Quran on the promotion and maintenance of peace among mankind that it emphatically denounces all aggressive wars waged by man in the course of his history. Fighting or *'Jehad'* which means strivings against evil, is permitted only as an unhappy defensive measure. It regards human life as a thing sacred in itself, and observes:

> "Whosoever killeth a human being for other than man-slaughter or bloodshed in the earth, it shall be as if he hath killed all mankind, and whosoever saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he hath saved the life of all mankind". (Q. 5:32)

The highest aim which a nation or a community may, on the analogy of the individual, aspire to is not material or political superiority over others, which seems to have had a fascination for ambitious people through the ages. The very idea of a distinction on this basis between one community and other is excluded from the concept of international life favoured by the Prophet of Islam, the concept of "a fold, every member of which shall be a shepherd or keeper unto every other and be accountable for the welfare of the entire fold," to which attention has already been drawn, and which the U.N.O. has yet to conceive as a motto for its guidance.

In presenting the idea of *'Amal-i-Salih'* or righteous activity as warranted by the cardinal beliefs in Islam, I have not so far drawn attention to the significance of the belief in the 'Life—hereafter' which a Muslim has to entertain, as a corollary to his belief in the Unity of God. This belief postulates that death is not the end of life but that it is a gateway to a new state of existence, where according to the Quran, man "will assuredly be carried forward from state to state or from one lower to one higher" (Q.84:19), if he has in the life-present

equipped himself through right activity, for this march onward. The Quran, however, makes it clear that to the extent one has utilised aright the life-present, to that extent will he have acquired the talent to profit by the prospect held out to him after death of attaining a higher and yet a higher state of existence. From this stand-point, the function of belief in the 'Life-hereafter' is just to serve in the life-present as a force for inward discipline and righteous activity propelled by the sense of God one has to develop in him, if he truly believes in God.

The primary aim of the Quran is to stimulate and develop this sense of God in man and to rest thereon a type of activity which will help him to live at peace with himself and at peace with his world of external relations. The sense of "self" is undoubtedly a hindrance to the acquisition of the sense of God; but that will have to be kept in proper check. What the Quran desires man to achieve is not the total forgetfulness or negation of his sense of the "self" but a happy blending of it with the sense of God in him or atleast the keeping of an even balance between the two. That is *'taqwa'* or balanced life, which the Quran recommends for man. It is that which characterizes the mind which the Quran desires to build, a mind which looks upon life as a gift from God, indeed as a trust and a sacred privilege to be lived in the presence of what the Quran styles "The countenance of God," guided by the light emanating therefrom. The first step towards this consummation is the development in oneself of an abiding sense of God in all its purity—truly a reward from God for believing in Him, the Creator and Sustainer of life.

May I, in conclusion, narrate a brief story of a Negro boy who lived during the first century of Islam, to afford here at least a rough idea of what I mean by the sense of God one has to develop for a life of righteous activity? The story is recorded by Ghazali in his famous work *Ihya 'ul-Ulum**. It is an account of an incident in the life of Khalifa Umar. The story is this. The Khalifa was once travelling from Madina to Mecca. On the way, one early morning, he noticed a flock of sheep grazing at the base of a hillock. A Negro boy was tending

*Ghazali : *Ihya'ul-Ulum*, Vol IV, p. 340, Dar-ul-Kutub al-Arabiyah al-Kubra, Egypt, 1334 A.H.

the flock. To test whether the teachings of the Quran had, at least in their elementary form, ever reached this Negro boy living in a remote corner of Arabia, and to what extent he had reacted to them in his individual life, he asked him if he would like to sell one of the lambs in the flock. Promptly a definite "No" was the answer. "But why ?" asked the Caliph. "Why?"—"Because it is not mine", rejoined the Negro boy. "It is my masters's and I am his slave." "What matters ?" said the Khalif, "Take this money, give the lamb to me; and go and tell your master that some wolf snatched away his lamb." The boy stared hard at the Caliph. The poor fellow did not know whom he was staring at. "I can cheat my master over there on the other side of the hillock. But can I," he stressed, "cheat that Great Master who is overlooking both of us and listening?" The boy was an illiterate boy. He had never read the Quran. But the pervasive influence of its teachings had evidently touched his mind. He must have heard in some manner the Quranic words that God "Knows even what the soul of man whispereth to him" and that God is "closer to him than his jugular vein," (Q. 50:15) and that "three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer, nor more, but wherever they be he is with them." (Q. 58·7). He must also have heard that none can give away or sell anything which does not belong to him. What profound impression the reply of this Negro boy must have created on the mind of a man like 'Umar,' that austere and mighty Caliph of Islam, can easily be imagined. "Tears rolled down his cheeks," states the narrative. Tenderly he asked the boy to lead him on to his worldly master, the owner of the flock. On meeting him, the Caliph enquired: "How much did you pay for this slave ? "So much," replied the owner. "Here is that much. Take it, and set the boy free."

Of course, the boy became a free man and Umar went his way. But the question may as well be asked: How many of us, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, in all stations and walks of life, how many brilliant products of our universities, how many of those who conduct today the affairs of their countries, indeed, how many of those who have subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have attained that state of mind

which this Negro boy of 1400 years back had reached, or have felt the same sense of God and held themselves responsible to Him in all that they have thought or done in their several lives?

It is this sense of God which the Quran aims to inspire in man, and base thereon an order of society every member of which shall be a keeper or shephered unto every other, and be accountable for the welfare of the entire fold—a brotherhood co-extensive in its final reaches with the whole of mankind who, in the words of the Prophet of Islam, constitute the "Family of God." May God help mankind to move towards this goal! The hour calls for introspection and a return to God! That is the Call of the Quran for the world of today!

,AMIC LAW IN THE MODERN WORLD

A. A. A. FYZEE*

ıccording to the usual statistical estimates, the Muslims titute the second biggest religious group in the modern d; Christians 900 million, and Muslims 425 million, which ɔout one-seventh of the world's population. Roughly provenance is the following :

Indonesia	70 million
Pakistan	65 million
India	45 million
Nigeria	36 million
Arabia (proper)	30 million
China and Russia	30 million
Turkey	30 million
Egypt	28 million
Iran (Persia)	25 million

Iuslims are also found in the Balkan States in Europe, ral Asia, Madagascar and Ceylon ; and the computation ıeir numbers in Asia and Africa presents difficulties to ›graphers.[1]

'ne fact, however, is significant. In the Indian subcontı- there is a compact and homogeneous group of Muslims, hundred and ten million strong, of the Hanafi school of ite law who are to a large extent united in language, race religion. Their social life is guided by uniform principles they possess what may be called their "cultural" *lingua a*, Urdu, a language of Indian origin, derived from ern Hindi, with infiltration of vocabulary from Arabic, an, Turkish, Hindi, and even English and Portuguese. It

Based on a Lecture delivered at the School of Law, University ifornia, Los Angeles, on 27th April 1966 by the author, who siting Professor of Law for one semester, January-June, 1966.

possesses a large and growing literature, fairly strong in Muhammadan law, theology, history and poetry. The language is poor in biography, science, politics and a number of technical and social sciences, which have arisen in the twentieth century. The law relating to this large and interesting group is known as 'Muhammadan Law.' Apart from a sprinkling of the *Shi'a*, the vast majority of Muslims in India and Pakistan are Hanafi Sunnites.

A word may be said here as to nomenclature. A number of scholars—particularly the neophytes—are almost bigoted in applying the term "Muslim" in such phrases as Muslim law, Muslim architecture, Muslim Science, and the like. May I be permitted to demonstrate the weakness of such a nomenclature, as it indicates a lack of clear thinking ? *Islam* is a word which in the Arabic means "submission to the will of God," and from the way in which the verb *aslama* is used in the Arabic language, it signifies the deliberate adoption of the new faith. The word *muslim* is a noun of action, meaning "one who adopts Islam as a faith." Thus it has no associations with the Founder of the Faith as the words Christianity, Buddhism or Zoroastrianism have. The term *muslim* can only be applied to a *rational human being* and not to a system of law, or fine arts, science, or philosophy. The proper term in such contexts is *Islamic*, which means, pertaining to Islam and is commonly used so in Europe now. The expression "Muhammadan law," however, is at present so commonly used all over the world that it would be pendantry to try to device another[1-a]. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the Supreme Court of India has recently been pleased to use the expression "Muslim law" and so one must speak with respect, but it is my hope that their Lordships will be induced to give up this incongruous expression.

Now Muhammadan Law in India (and Pakistan) may be defined as "that portion of the Islamic law (*shari'a, fiqh*) which is applied in India (or Pakistan) as a personal law under the Constitution." It is quite clear that a large number of provisions of the *shari'a* are impossible of application in the world of today, but the basis is the fourfold pillars of the *fiqh*: *Kitab* (Koran), *Sunna* (Practice of the Blessed prophet), *Ijma* (Consensus of opinion among the learned), *Qiyas* (Analogical

deductions by jurists of authority). In India, this system was greatly influenced by the doctrines of common law and Equity (as understood in the Courts of Chancery), or as the earlier statutes put it. by "Justice, Equity and Good Conscience." Secondary sources of very great social importance are custom, statute law, and treaties between Sovereign powers. It is thus not a discrete system as to its origin, sources and articulation, but there can be no doubt that the changes in the social life of the people during the last three centuries and the infiltration of western culture and its ideals, chiefly on the advent of the English language, have modified it beneficially in certain respects[2].

The literature of this "Indian" branch of law is almost wholly to be found in the English language. First comes the case law; there are 79 volumes of decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, known as Indian Appeals, wherein will be found the opinions of such great masters of the law as Lord Sumner, Lord Macnaghten and Lord Hobhouse. Then there are the official series of reports of the various High Courts established by Royal Charter at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, each over fifty volumes; there are reports of the other High Courts established later, at Allahabad, Lucknow, the Punjab, Nagpur and elsewhere; and now we have the reports of the Supreme Courts of India and Pakistan, establishsd at New Delhi and Lahore, respectively.

Secondly, we have textbooks written by British officers in the eighteenth and nineteeth centuries such as those of Sir William Macnaghten (first and foremost), Sir Ronald Wilson and Almaric Rumsey (on inheritance); and later, translations by Hamilton (*Hedaya*) and Baillie (*Fatawa Alamgiri*), and the authoritative works of Morley, Rankin, followed by Anderson and Coulson. These early authors were followed by distinguished Indians, namely Ameer Ali, Sircar (a Bengali Hindu), Tyabji, and Mulla (a Parsi solicitor, who ultimately became a prolific author, a Judge of the High Court of Bombay and a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy council.

It will thus be seen that the law known as "Muhammadan Law" in India and Pakistan is the joint product of the intellectual activities of Englishman, Muslims, Hindus and a

Parsi. By far the largest portion of the law as administered in the courts can easily be studied in the English sources; but there is also a considerable literature of *fatawa* such as those of the Deoband Academy, the *Fatawa* of Mawlana Abd al-Hayy (of Firangl Mahall, Lucknow), and Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi (of Thana Bhawan. Uttar Pradesh) in Urdu. It may be mentioned in passing that *Indian* scholars writing in Arabic, Persian and Urdu have made notable contributions to the religious sciences of Islam, and particularly in *hadith*, law and biography (*rijal*). And India has given to the world at least one classic exposition of Hanafi law in Arabic, used all over the world. This is the *Fatawa Alamgiri*, known in the Middle East as the *Hindiyya*, a collection of the opinions of juris-consults prepared by Shaykh Nizam and others in Delhi by the order of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir in the eighteenth century (Arabic, four volumes, now translated fully in Urdu, and partially in English by Baillie in his well-known *Digest*).

There is general agreement among Western scholars that Islamic civilisation was the link between the Classical Age of Greek and Latin Culture, and the Modern Western Civilisation. The Arabs possessed no drama, until quite recent times, and were, generally speaking, singularly devoid of humour. But in Classical poetry, the legal sciences, theology, history, medicine and the exact sciences, they have left a vast and useful literature, only a fraction of which has been studied systematically. Professor Hellmut Ritter (Frankfurt and Istanbul) has estimated that some 200,000 manuscripts are preserved in Turkey alone, of which 124,000 exist in the mosque-libraries of Istanbul.[3] No other city can boast of such immense treasures, yet there are good collections in some of the European Libraries, such as the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), the British Museum and the India Office Library (London), the vast collection of Arabic Books and MSS in the Staatsbibliothek (Berlin) have now been distributed between the universities of Tubingen and Marburg; the magnificent autographs and illuminated MSS in the Chester Beattle Collection (Dublin) and the John Rylands Library (Manchester); also in Cairo, Damascus and Marrakesh, Fez, Qayrawan and the Yemen; and the collections made by Emperors and noble-men in India, such as those at Delhi, Lucknow, Rampur, Aligarh,

Patna, Hyderabad and Calcutta, make an impressive heritage of Islamic Civilisation. It can therefore be safely asserted that there exist some 300,000 MSS, which have not been studied scientifically and offer a virgin field for the research worker in the fields of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu. The critical and scientific study of Islamic Law and related topics is therefore an important source for modern research and investigation. Students of the Greek and Roman classics who fail to discover material for their insatiable thirst for research are at present turning their attention to this untapped source. Within the last ten years scholars of the stamp of Joseph Schacht (Columbia), Majid Khadduri (Johns Hopkins), Emile Tyan (Beirut), J.N.D. Anderson (London), R. Brunschwig (Paris) and others have produced work of the greatest value in Islamic jurisprudence, and it is my hope that the institutes of higher learning in the New World will encourage the study of Islamic law and its history as a comparative discipline in their law courses.

In Islamic Jurisprudence, God is the fountain-head of the law; and the Koran the primary source. Next in importance is the *sunna*, the practice of the Prophet as based on his sayings. which are known as *hadith*. These two constitute the nass; binding ordinance. On the foundations of the primary and secondary revelations, the mind of man and his reasoning faculties has created the superstructure called *shari'a* of *fiqh*, the names given by the Muslims to the sacred law, exemplifying its moral and legal aspects. The legal name of the law is *fiqh*; the adherents of the faith of Islam do not call these laws "Muhammadan Law." for Muhammad the Blessed Prophet is believed to be only a man, not an incarnation of God. The Prophet was called to his high office by inspiration, and the revelation he received is known as *wahy*. The Koran specifically asserts at two places that he was the equal of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, all true prophets of God.[4] It follows that all these faiths were true in their own spheres and in their own ages, and they are all to be equally respected. Since the *shari'a* is a body of rules leading to the material and spiritual uplift of men, it is an analogue of the *Dharma* in Hinduism and the *Torah* in Judaism. Its study would therefore be of value for purpose of comparison and a critical appraisal of the affinity between the three Semitic faiths, Judaism,

Christianity and Islam. It may well be described as a compound of religion, law and ethics.

We must now consider why it is that Western institutes of learning are increasingly giving importance to this discipline. Lieutenant-General Sir Johan Bagot Glubb ends his work on *The Great Arab Conquests* with the following words :

"The relations between Christianity and Islam today justify a brief comment. As Muhammad himself declared, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are related religions. If we consider them alone, their differences may appear to be profound, but when compared to Hinduism, Buddhism or Communist atheism, they appear by contrast closely connected with one another. Yet many people regard Christianity and Islam as the great rival religions. This illusion takes its origin, I believe, from political rather than religious causes.

"As our narrative has shown, the first Arab conquerors regarded Byzantium as their principal enemy. In the subsequent Arab conquests of North Africa and Spain, in the Crusades, in the invasion of the Balkans by the Turks, and in their long hostilities with Czarist Russia, nearly all Muslim wars have been directed against Christians. Conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in India have been on an altogether smaller scale, and Muslims have scarcely ever been involved in hostilities against the Jews except in the last forty years in Palestine.

"This long-standing rivalry between Christians and Muslims has been due to political and geographical accident rather than to basic religious differences. Now that materialist atheism is challenging all spiritual values, the two religions might well make common cause against those who deny the existence of God altogether. There is, I believe, an immense field in which the two could cooperate.

"The Arabic-speaking world, after four centuries of obscurity, is once again playing its part in history. It is both our duty and our interest to study more thoroughly the history and mentality of this group of races, which have to their credit so long and illustrious an historical record."[6]

It will be agreed, by and large, that Glubb Pasha is correct; and there are additional reasons. First, the recent attempts made by President Nasser, and those who think alike, to create a "Commonwealth of Arab Nations" are worthy of close study. Whatever be the time-lag between intention and achievement, there are clear indications that the principles enunciated in 1945, leading to the formation of the League of Arab States are being widely accepted and implemented by the Arabs, and they are coming closer to each other every day, despite economic and political difficulties, and unseemly personal recriminations. Speaking for myself, I see clearly the signs of ultimate success sooner rather than later.

Secondly, the great increase in the production of oil and the consequent investment of substantial funds by the United States and other international agencies, makes it all the more necessary that we should know the people and their *mores*. Enormous funds have been invested in Arabia and Africa by consortiums of oil companies from the United States, England, France and other countries and some of these companies have set up schools for instructing their staff in the Arabic language.

And thirdly, the steady rise of dynamic political leaders in the Middle East and Southern Asia is also worthy of note. 1910-25, Mustafa Kemal (later, Kemal Ataturk) (Turkey); 1940-47, Mahomed Ali Jinnah (Pakistan); 1950 onwards, Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia); 1925-60, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (India) and 1950 onwards, President General Abd El Nasser (U.A.R.) are not isolated individuals. These leaders are not mushrooms of the desert, destined to be born one day, to subsist overnight, and to be dead and forgotten the next day. They are clear portents that Islam is asleep no more; its political leadership is not extinct; its true spirit is not entombed in "book and grave," and its thinkers are no longer addicted to *hashish* or opium to enjoy the day-dreams so graphically described by De Quincey. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to understand Islam, its way of life and its culture. The modern world has come to terms with Islam; and Islam has to come to terms with the modern world.

In order to understand Islam as a world phenomenon, a working knowledge of the principles upon which the *shari'a*

is founded is a *sine qua non.* The first and foremost witne Ghazali :

"The law (*shari'a*) is the ***indispensable daily bread of lif*** all Muslims, because it contains the rules which are bindir everyone. He who denies the validity of the main regula of the law is an unbeliever (*kafir*), and deserves death a apostate (but not otherwise). The required measure of k ledge of the law varies from person to person; because i value only as a guide to right living, the study of fine dis tions is in itself worthless. There must, it is true, be a of scholars who make a study of the law beyond their ir dual needs.. it is an error to believe that a preoccupation law beyond the actual needs of the community is pleasi God. The *fiqh* is ***a science of this world,*** since a man who serves all its rules most meticulously may give the out impression of being a true Muslim; but what is within, wh he possesses the belief necessary for salvation, is an question."[6]

Ghazali is supported by a modern scholar, the ***doyen*** of scholars of Islamic law at the present time, Professor Jc Schacht (Columbia University; New York):

"Islamic law is the epitome of the Islamic spirit, the typical manifestation of the Islamic way of life, ***the kern Islam itself.*** For the majority of Moslems, the law has al been and still is of much greater practical importance tha dogma. Even today the law remains a decisive element in struggle which is being fought in Islam between tradition and modernism under the impact of Western ideas. impossible to understand the present legal developments in Islamic countries of the Middle East without a correct appr tion of the past history of legal theory, of positive law, an legal practice in Islam."[7]

But it is not only legal matters which are regulated b *shari'a* of *fiqh.* The *shari'a* to use modern terminology emb not only law, but religion and ethics, as well. An illustr will make this clear. In addition to purely legal matters, as marriage, divorce, gift, *waqf* and inheritance, which dealt with fully in the classical works, we also have Pı

(*salat*), Fasting (*sawm*), Poor Tax (*zakat*), Pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) and Holy War (*jihad*). And further, almost all texts contain moral injuctions: well-known examples are the chapters on "The Duties or the Etiquette of the Cadi" to be found in almost all the classical authorities, such as the *Hedaya*, the *Minhaj* and the *Da'a' im al-Islam*. In the text mentioned last, the earliest Fatimid authority, the Chapter on Wills contains the testaments of the Prophet and of Ali, which are most interesting both from the moral and sectarian points of view. I have recently written a paper for *Malayan Law Journal* on the *adab al-qāḍī* (The Etiquette of Judges) in Islamic Law, and almost one half of the directions and rules are moral behests rather than hard and fast legal rules. For this reason, in India the danger of confusing moral injunctions with binding ordinances of law has been the subject of discussion in numerous decisions and textbooks, following the classic dictum of Mr. Justice Mahmood in the leading case of *Gobind Dayal* v. *Inayatullah*[8].

During the Golden Age of Islam, the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad and the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt, in Spain and Samarkand and Delhi, the Muslim rulers were known to be great patrons of culture and learning. This glorious chapter of Islamic history has been the subject of numberless books and articles. Likewise it has been the occasion for grandiose utterances by Muslim apologists, extolling their historical glory, gloating over the dead past, and neglecting the living present. But the Muslim scholars of antiquity gave the greatest importance to the study of the law, which was the heart of the medieval curriculum. The Shāfii doctor Nawawi begins his classical *Minhāj aṭ-Ṭālibīn* with the memorable words:

"Now, the best way to manifest obedience towards God and make right use of precious time is assuredly to devote oneself to the study of the law".

And it is estimated that the major portion of the ancient heritage of Islamic literature consists of the law (*sharia*, *fiqh*) and its numerous off-shoots, the *sharia*-sciences (*al-ulum ash-shariyya*).

There are 45 to 50 million Muslims in India and we are the third largest Muslim country in the world, the first two, being

Indonesia and Pakistan. Arabic and Persian have been cultivated for the last seven hundred years in my country and Indians have contributed to some of the classics of Arabic and Persian literature. For literature in Arabic, Shah Wallyyullah and Muhibbullah Bihari are familiar examples. They have written two classical texts on Theology and Logic respectively. The former's *Ḥujjat al-lāh al-Bāligha* and the latter's *Musalim al-Thubūt* are well known textbooks still prescribed at the Azhar (Cairo). It is unnecessary to mention the Persian authors such as Khusrau, Ghalib, Faizl, Abul Fazl, Firishta and Badayuni. And it would be superfluous in this enlightened audience to remind you of the literary treasures of North Africa, Egypt and Persia.

The second observation relates to Comparative Law. Comparative Law assumes practical importance in the world of today in a number of spheres. It is nor merely a theoretical discipline. Nor is it only an academic exercise. If a new problem arises it becomes necessary to find out whether any known system of law lays down a rule capable of being introduced into the fabric of positive law. To take an illustration, occasionally a married couple lose their lives as the result of an air accident. How are we to determine who died first? And how are we to distribute their estate in such circumstances?

Where two or more persons perish together in a common disaster and it is impossible to ascertain which of them died first, in Muhammadan Law; they do not inherit one from the other. For instance if husband and wife, or father and son, are killed by a bomb or die in an aeroplane accident, neither inherits from the other. Hence the husband's relations inherit his property, and the wife's heirs succeed to her property, ignoring the existence of the other spouse.

This rule is convenient in the case of Muslims; for it has been held by the Privy Council that when two individuals perish in a common calamity and the question arises as to which of them died first, in the absence of evidence there is in India no presumption, as in English law by statute that the younger survived the elder. Such a question is a pure question of fact and the onus of proof lies on the party who makes the asser-

on.[9] The Privy Council decision leads to a practical deadlock, or, how can any person prove who died first ? It is submitted that the rule of Muhammadan Law is far more practical, just and easy of application. You have simply to distribute the property as if the other did not exist. Why should this rule, so simple and just, not be adopted in other systems of law as well ?

Now, if we turn to the syllabus of Comparative law in European countries, we generally find that Roman law is made the chief basis of comparison. The English, French and German systems are examined and a comparison is instituted. It is surprising however to find that so little attention is paid to Islamic Jurisprudence, applicable to 425 million persons in some 22 different countries, and to Hindu Law applicable to 300 millions in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

Thirdly, even from the point of view of human interest, many noble sentiments are to be found in the legal texts. For example, the highest credit is given to those who intercede between quarrelling persons; "The composing of differences between men is better than all fasts and prayers" says one of the earliest texts of Fatimid Law[10] on the authority of Amir l-Mu minin Ali. Nowadays one hears a great deal about the manner in which certain aspirants try for judicial appointments in every country. To them we may repeat the story of Imam-A'zam Abu Hanifa as related by Mawlana Abdul-Hayy Firangi Mahalli. It is said that Yazid b. Hubayra wanted to appoint Imam Abu Hanifa as the cadi of Kufa in the time of the Caliph Marwan b. Muhammad, the last of the Umayyads, but the Imam refused. So he had the Imam beaten ten strokes a day for ten days, that is one hundred strokers in all. Still the great Jurist persisted in refusing and Yazid thereupon released him. Some time later the Caliph Mansur brought him from Kufa to Baghdad to induce him to accept the higher office of Chief Justice (qadi' l-qudat). The Imam still refused and there was a discussion between the Caliph and the Imam. The Caliph

'Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape'

tried to bully him into acceptance, and asked him why he refused. "Because," said the Imam, "I am not suitable for the office *la asluha li 'l-qada'*)," Whereupon the Caliph was incensed and said "Thou art a liar!" But the Imam with admirable wit turned the tables upon him by giving the crushing reply: "How is it lawful for you to appoint a liar as Chief Justice of the realm?".[11]

In legal theory, according to the *adab al-qadi*, you can neither "ask for" nor "try to obtain" the office of cadi. "It it related that one should neither ask for)*talab*) nor try to obtain it (*su'al*). *Talab* means asking the caliph to appoint oneself and *Su'al* is implied when the aspirant says to several persons that if the King were to appoint him, he would accept the office. It is therefore always better to avoid accepting the onerous poistion."[12] The procedure envisaged here shows that hardly any new methods have been invented by the ingenuity of man during the last two hundred years to perform this delicate and ingenious task.

By contrast, the dishonesty of cadis is also the subject of numerous tales. Many luscious stories are related in M. B. Ahmed's *Administration of Justice in Medieval Times*. The histories of cadis and their table talk so far preserved contain some priceless gems. We know positively that a few years ago in Egypt women were not considered legally competent to be members of Parliament. Later the *fatwa* was reveised, and still later, that is a year ago, a distinguished woman doctor of Philosophy of a European University, was appointed a Minister as a member of President Nasser's team. It would hardly be proper for me to relate to you how this came about; but suffice it to say, that both were the result of the *fatwa* of the Shaykh al-Azhar, for the time being. The chapters on the *adab al-qadi*, particularly those relating to the taking of presents and the acceptance of invitations, are very revealing. They naturally contain a good deal of casuistry, trying to make the worse appear the better reason, and containing interesting reference to human failings. For instance, it is related from Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq that acquiring what you have not earned as a cadi, is *rushwa* (bribe) if you pass the right order. But if you pass the wrong order, then it is *kufr* (unbelief). Both are forbidden, but, obviously, it is worse to take the bribe and not to follow the law.[13]

I should like to take this opportunity to offer a few sugges-
is regarding the study of the subject in American seats of
ning. First, as the *shari'a* is the most important discipline
the study of Islam as a whole, a legal text like Ibn Khal-
's *Muqaddima* (legal portion)[14] or an excerpt from Quduri[15]
uld be prescribed for a degree examination. This should
substituted for some prescribed prose piece. Both are
ple texts and will not cast an intolerable burden on the
lent. Together with this, a simple book on the First Principles
Jurisprudence, such as Mahmassani's *Philosophy of Jurispru-
·e in islam,* or some of the *Selected Essays* of C. Snouck
·gronje should be recommended to be read. Both are
iirably written, fairly simple, and easily available, being
lished by the well-known publishers, Brill, Leiden.

Secondly, for the law degree, historical and theoretical studies
ıld be included in the syllabus as optional subjects. The student
uld have some familiarity with the foundation of the schools
the origin of the law. Textbooks containing such material
available in English, and it is unnecessary to mention
n. For the master's and higher examinations in law, the
ling of some original texts either in Persian and preferably
ırabic, should be made possible. Ultimately, the student
to get to grips with legal Arabic, and short-cuts by way of
slations and paraphrases cannot carry him far.

It may be added, in all humility, that I am a lawyer trained
ombay and Cambridge, who has practised as an advocate
ombay and taught Islamic law, not only in my native town,
also in Cambridge, McGill and now, by your generosity,
ıe University of California at Los Angeles. But I have no
wledge of the conditions of legal practice in the United
es, nor can I boast of a proper and systematic acquain-
e with the syllabi and curricula in your schools of law.
ertheless, it seems to me, that the law of marriage and
rce, as it is changing in Islamic countries, will be found to
ery instructive both from the comparative point of view,
as indicating the altered outlook on these matters in Asian
African countries.

n Pakistan, a second marriage is not easy, it is hedged in
nany rules contained in recent statutes.[16] While polygamy

is possible in India, the very fact of a second marriage is now held to constitute a presumption of cruelty towards the first wife, and a recent decision of Mr. Justice Dhawan in the High Court of Allahabad shows how the wind of change is bilowing.[17] Anderson in his recent work on *Islamic Law in the Modern World* has given a good summary of what is happening in the Middle East.[18] In Tunisia and Morocco, the old Maliki rule of the legality of compulsion by the father in marriage has been abandoned, and the girl is by statute empowered to give her own consent. The Tunisian code enjoins strict monogamy; the Moroccan statute provides that a wife whose husband concludes a second Marriage may always "refer her case to the court to consider any injury which may have been caused toher."[19]

This is hardly the place or the occasion to go into the minutiae of the law of marriage and divorce in Islam as a whole; and I shall content myself with two general observations: *first* everywhere in the Islamic world there is a greater awareness of the increased stature of womanhood in the twentieth century; *secondly*, every attempt is being made to make polygamy difficult. if not impossible, and the trend towards monogamy as practised in the Western world is unmistakable

The Association of American Law Schools has stated the objectives of legal education under three broad heads education for comprehension and expression in words, education for *critical understanding of human institutions and values* and education for creative power and thinking. It is the second objective to which I have the privilege of drawing your pointed attention today; and it is my submission that it is for you in the twentieth century, when the barriers of space and time are being destroyed by science, and when the human family should aspire to come together by all possible means, to give your immediate attention to the second greatest system of jurisprudence in the modern world.

FOOTNOTES

1 Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* (3rd ed., Oxford, U.P, 1964) 38, notes (f) and (g).

1a In French, *le d oit musulman*, and in German, *muhamma danische recht*.

2. Introduction to *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan* by A.A.A. Fyzee (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965).

3. H. Ritter, "Autographs in Turkish Libraries," *Oriens* VI (1953) pp. 63, 65.

4. Fyzee, *A Modern Approach to Islam* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963), 22.

5. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1963, p 371.

6. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Selected Works* (Brill, Leiden, 1957), 100 The words in brackets are supplied by me.

7. *Law in the Middle East*, edited by Majid Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, Vol. 1, *Origin and Development of Islamic Law* (Washington, D C , 1955), 28

8 Discussed exhaustively in Fyzee *Outlines* (3rd Edition), 326 seqq., Fyzee, *Cases*, 429.

9 Fyzee, *Outlines* (3rd edition), 431.

10 *Daaim al-islam*, ii, (Cairo, 1961), para. 1297, Isfahani, *Maqatil al-Talibiyyir* (Cairo, 1368/1949), 38 seq.

11. Hidaya (Delhi, ed), iv, End (Introduction), 7

12 *Fatawa Alamgiri* (Urdu), v, 112.

13. *Daaim al-islam*, ii, (Cairo, 1961), para 189).

14. The text representing *Muqaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 1-32

15. *Quduri*, Cairo or Istanbul text, chapters on *Nikah* to *nafaqat*.

16 Fyzee, *Outlines*, 3rd ed. 471 (Appendix E).

17 See *Litwari* v. *Asghari* in Fyzee, *Cases* 188.

18. New York University Press, 1959, p. 38 and Index.

19 Anderson, 51

RAJM : STONING FOR FORNICATION

MALIK RAM

The source of Islamic Law is divine as revealed and subsequently compiled into a book what is now called the Quran. Along with other injunctions, the law about fornication also was laid down in the Quran. Quran is, however, not and was never intended to be, a complete code of laws. It was physically not possible to anticipate all situations or eventualities. The principles were, therefore, laid down, leaving the Prophet and the later jurists to interpret and translate them into action according to their day-to-day requirements.

The law about fornication is contained in the following words of chapter 24 of the Quran i.e. The Light.

> "Of the adulteress and the adulterer flog each of them with a hundred stripes; and let not pity for them prevent you from obedience to God if you believe in God and the Last Day. And let a party of believers witness their punishment." (24:2)

This is the basic principle on which the penal code of Islam regarding fornication rests. The word for stripes used in the text is *jaldah* which implies that the strokes should be such that the skin of the person would feel the blow. Upto the time of Omar, the second Caliph of Islam, there was no fixed method of inflicting this punishment. Some time a stone, at other a shoe or a fresh branch cut from a tree was used. Caning was introduced by Omar and a lash by the third Caliph, Usman. The intention was that the culprit should feel the pain of the stroke, although as said towards the end of the above-quoted verse of the Quran the object was to bring ignominy and a sense of shame upon the punished in the presence of a group of his peerse who would be called to witness his punishment.

It was further laid down that the lash could not be used in a way that was likely to result in disfigurement of any part or crippling of the person or his death. Although there is no historical evidence that this punishment was inflicted on a bare-bodied person, it is also unbelievable that it should have been imparted while he was wearing heavy clothes as this would defeat the very purpose of the punishment.

That was the law as laid down in the Quran and as it was practised in early days. Latter day jurists, however, introduced a strange distinction which could not be justifiably deduced from the simple words of the Quran. It was said that if the guilty parties or one of them was un-married and single, the punishment was to be 100 lashes as laid down in 24:2. On the other hand, if the culprit was married and had a spouse, his/her punishment would be stoning to death. This distinction between married and un-married is uncalled for. The Quranic text makes no mention whatever to justify such an interpretation. The words of the Quran are the adulteress and the adulterer—to include both the married and the un-married—and the punishment is also without distinction 100 lashes to each of them.

Protagonists of this later view argue that in the case of un-married persons, the crime is simple as they do not encroach upon the rights of any other person and do, whatever they do, to themselves alone. On the other hand, when a person is married and commits adultery, he not only harms his personal interests, he is guilty of unfaithfulness towards his spouse as well. Thus it becomes a compound crime nnd should consequently attract severer punishment.

Not only this later interpretation, which in fact amounts to an addition to the law, is uncalled for, it is belied by another verse of the Quran as well It is laid down thus in the Chapter : The Women :

> "And whoever among you has not within his power ampleness of means to marry free believing women, then (he may marry) of those whom your right hands possess from among your believing maidens; and Allah knows best your faith; you are (sprung) the one

from the other; so marry them with the permission c their masters, and give them their dowries justly, the being chaste, not fornicating, nor receiving paramour: and when they are taken in marriage, then if they ar guilty of indecency, they shall suffer half the punisl ment which is (inflicted) upon free women. This i for him among you who fears falling into evil; and th: you abstain is better for you, and Allah is Forgivin; Merciful." (4:25)

It is clearly provided here that the punishment for marrie maid in such cases will be half of what has been prescribed fc an independent married women. The Quran at no other plac except the one quoted above (24·2) has laid down the law i this behalf. In 4:25 reference can be to this injunction onl where the punishment for an adulteress is 100 lashes, half c which should obviously be 50 in the csse of a maid. In ca: *jaldah* in 24:2 was intended to mean (or include) stoning t death, half (of) death would not only be impracticable, bı also meaningless, in fact frivolous.

Another verse of the Quran also supports the view th: the punishment of death was not to be given to the guilt parties. In the very next verse of the Chapter: "The Light it is laid down as follows:

> "The fornicator shall not marry any but a fornicatre: or an adulteress, and (as for) the fornicatress, nor shall marry her but a fornicator or an adulterer; an it is forbidden to the believers." (24:3)

The law propounded here relates to the two culprits t whom punishment has been meted out according to the pr vious verse. It says that a proclaimed adulterer and a pr claimed adulteress would not be allowed to marry anyor except a person of their own category. In other words, it accepted that an adulterer and an adultaress who have unde gone the prescribed punishment and are known to the publ as such and want to marry again will not be permitted t marry except as laid down in this verse (24 3). If the punisl ment mentioned in the previous verse (24 2) was to be stonii which was bound to result in death, there would be no poi in framing rules for their second marriage.

The confusion has in fact arisen from a large body of Traditions, found in various collections of Hadith. These are often, of necessity, incomplete and scrappy. This can be proved from the text relating to the same event as given in different collections. Human nature as it is, one cannot retain complete or very accurate details of what it has seen or heard. This very often results in faulty rendering. Most of the traditions which have reached us show that the Prophet did actually order the stoning of those found guilty of adultery when the culprit was a married person. It is, however, not proven whether this practice was continued even after the revelation of the law as contained in Chapter 24 (The Light) prescribing 100 lashes as punishment.

It was the practice of the Prophet that so long as no clear and new instructions about a matter were revealed to him, he would follow the Law as found in the *Torah* (the Pentateuch; the first five books of the Old Testament) which was the immediately preceding Revealed Law. This is what he did, for example, about tne *Qiblah*. As long as he was not told to offer prayers with face towards the *Ka'aba* in Mecca, he continued praying, along with his congregation, facing Jerusalem, the holy city of the Jews. The moment the *Qiblah* was changed to Mecca, he gave up the practice of facing Jerusalem for this purpose. Similarly he used to fast like the Jews on the *Ashura* day before the fasting in the month of Ramadhan was prescribed, No sooner was this made obligatory. he discontinued the previous practice of fasting on *Ashura*. This is exactly what happened in the case of punishment for fornication as well. The relevant law in Deuteronomy provides for the punishment of stoning for fornication in certain cases. This is what the Prophet of Islam also did before clear revelation was received by him to the contrary. The law as laid down in Chapter 22 of Deuteronomy is as follows :

> "If a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband, then they shall both of them die, both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman. so shalt thou put away evil from Israel.
>
> If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto an hus-

band, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her; then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, because she cried not, being in the city; and the man because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife: so thou shalt put away evil from among you." (22:22-24)

This is exactly what the Prophet did. In the absence of any new law having been promulgated, he followed the previous law of Moses. This came in the opening veres of The Light i.e. Chapter 24 of the Quran. This is borne by a Hadith found in Bukhari and Muslim. The text is as follows.

"It was related to us by Musa bin Ismail, related to us by Abdel Wahid, related to us by al-Shaibani: I asked Abadallah bin Abi Aufa about stoning. He said, the Prophet (May God's blessing and peace be on him) did inflict the punishment of stoning. I asked him: was this before the revelation of The Light (Chapter 24 of the Quran) or after it. He said · I do not know"

This shows that the punishment of stoning was practised only upto the time clear instructions were not received against the law of Moses. As soon as the above-quoted verse of the Chapter 24 was revealed which was contrary to the old dispensation, stoning was no more the law of the day.

In this connection, the second Caliph Omar has been very often quoted to prove that a verse covering stoning was in fact revealed to the Prophet and he had imparted this punishment in accordance with this revelation. It would be advantageous to quote in extenso what is ascribed to Omar;[1]

"God sent Muhammad and gave him the Book. Amongst what was revealed to him was the verse regarding Stoning; we read it; we preserved it and we under-

1. Muslim : *Kitab-ul-Hudud*, Chapter *Rajm* See also Bukhari, *Kitab-ul-Muharbeen*, and *Musnad Ibn-i Hanbal;* XVI, *Kitab-ul-Hudud*.

stood it; the Prophet of God may blessings and peace of God be upon him, did apply the punishment of stoning and we also after his death continued doing the same. I fear if long time passed by, some one might say: 'We do not find the order about stoning in the Book of God.' Thereby they will be misled by giving up an injunction which God had revealed. The punishment of stoning is verily in the Book of God for one who in a married state, be it a man or woman, commits adultery, when it is proved by clear evidence, pregnancy or confession."

In another place[1], the statement is ascribed to him that he would have incorporated this verse in the Quran if he had not feared the people would charge him for making addition to the Book of God. This may be correct so far as *riwaya* is concerned i.e. the line of *isnad* is unbroken and everyone of the narrators is trustworthy. But if we applied the principle of *diraya* i.e. circumspection, all these sayings imputed to Omar become suspect Those who know Omar and have studied his character know that if there was one fearless and uncompromising man amongst early Muslims who would pay no heed to consequences either to himself or to others when he was convinced of the righteousness of an action, it was Omar. It is unbelievable that a revelation came as stated in this *asar* and the Prophet failed to retain it in the Quran. It is equally impossible that such a revelation should be known to Omar only and no one else. Other companions of the Prophet should also have known and recorded this verse. There is, however, no such evidence. In spite of the fact that this *asar* has come down to us on high authority of Bukhari and Muslim, circumstantial evidence is against its being accepted as genuine and we have to discard it as spurious.

We come to the conclusion, therefore, that the punishment of the stoning for audultery was practised by the Prophet so long as the Chapter 24 (The Light) was not revealed to him. After its revelation, this practice was given up. Latter day Jurists who have adhered to the view that this punishment was still valid, relied upon the pre-Light practice and were, therefore, following a path which had already been abandoned.

1. Abu Da'ud. *Kitab-ul-Hudud*.

HEBREW AND ARABIC COLLECTIVE AND 'BROKEN' PLURAL FORMS

G. R. DRIVER

Arabic grammars set out two separate classes of plural forms: the so-called broken (*aljamu lmukassaru*) and the sound *aljamu-lsahihu*); the first is generally thought to be peculiar to the Arabic language while the second is common to all the Semitic languages.

The 'broken' types are given as twenty-nine in number, and each kind is for the most part restricted to certain limited classes of nouns;[1] and several Hebrew nominal types, corresponding to these, can be found in the language of the Old Testament.[2]

The following are suggested Hebrew 'broken' plural forms.[3]

A XXIX **fa'l**:

geres 'groats' (Lev. 2·14, 16; LXX)
lehem 'kinsmen' (Ob. 7)[4]
rekeb 'riders' (II Ki 7 14; sing. *rokeb*)[5]
rekes 'horses' (I Ki. 5·8, Vulg.; Esth. 8 10,14)
remes 'gliding creatures' (sing. *romes*)
sekel 'fools' (Eccl. 10 6 parallel 'rich men')
seres 'swarming creatures' (sing. *sores*)

1 Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic Language (1896)*, I, 199-226, whose numbers are given in front of each form.

2 Bottcher & Muhlau *Ausfuhrl. Lehrb d Hebr. Spr* I 458-61, cp. Jenrich *Pluralis Fractus* 15-34

3 The correspondence with the Arabic forms is not always exact in consequence of the Hebrew modification of the vowel-sounds in certain positions.

4 Arab sing *luhmatu* plur *luhamu* 'kith and kin'.

5 Arab sing. *rakibu* plur. *rakbu* 'rider (s)'

dema 'tears,[1]
semah 'shoots'[1];

A II **fu'l**:

'omer 'utterances' (Ps. 18:5, LXX and Vulg.; sing. *'imrah* 'word; speech')
boser 'unripe grapes' (Jer. 31:29,30 Ezek. 18·12)
homer 'clay' as consisting of reddish lumps of earth[2]
hofen 'handful (s)' as held in contracted fingers or both hands[3]
kofer 'villages' (I Sam. 6:18)
'osem (Ps. 139:15; Jer. *ad Hebr.*, Pesh.)
qodes 'holy ones' (Exod. 15:11· LXX; Deut. 33:2, Vulg.);[4];

A XVIII **fa'al**:

baqar 'cattle' (Gen. 33:13 and Jb. 1:14 with fem. plur. verbs)
hadar 'nobility, nobles' (Is. 5:14)
kafar 'villages' (Josh. 18:24; LXX and Vulg.)
**sakan* 'inhabitants' (Hos. 10 5 with plur. verb; LXX and Vulg.)[5]

A V **fi'al**:

(i) *s^elaw* 'quails' (Exod. 16.13 with fem. sing. verb)
(*ii*) *enos* 'men' (rarely individual 'man')
k^ebod (i) 'nobles, noblemen' (Is 5:13; Vulg. *nobiles*)
(ii) 'children' (Is. 10 3 and 22·24, explained as 'issue and offspring')[6]

1 Cp. Brockelmann, *Vergleich. Gramm. d Sem. Spr.* I, 427-8.

2 So Arab. sing *ahmaru* plur. *humru* 'red'.

3 Cp. Arab. *hafana* grasped with contracted fingers, grasped in both hands, also sing. *hufnatu* plur. *hufnu* (?) handfuls'.

4 Cp Cross *ap.* Miller in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* LVII 241.

5 Arab. *saknu* 'inhabitants' (s. Nyberg *Hoseabuch* 73).

6 Cp. Syr. *'iqara, 'iqarta* 'honour' for 'children' (Pesh. at Gen. 34:29 Numb. 16:27 Hos. 9.11); s. Torczyner in *Scr. Hieros.* VIII 182.

kᵉfor 'hoarfrost' as things covering the earth[1]
abod 'servants' (Jer. 40:9 *si vera lectio;* LXX);[2]

A XXV **fai'l**:

(*i*) *abib* 'ears of corn' (Lev. 2:14, Vulg.)
hasil 'locusts' (Ps. 78:46 cited by plur. suffix)
nasik 'libations' (Deut. 32.38, LXX and Vulg.)
qasir 'reapers' (Is. 17:5)
rahit 'rafters' (Ct. 1.17, LXX and Vulg.)
(*ii*) *bᵉir* 'cattle, beasts'
sᵉfiah 'shoots from spilled grain';

A VI **fu'ul**:

gᵉbul 'hills' (I Sam. 13-18 II Ki. 3·21 Ps. 78 54) and so 'frontier' *(passim)*[3]
gᵉdud 'detachments' = 'troop (s)'
gᵉmul 'acts of recompense'
zᵉbub 'flies' (Is. 7:18, LXX)
zᵉkur 'males' (Exod. 23·17, 34:23 Deut. 16:16, 20:13)[4]
lᵉbus 'clothes' (II Ki. 10 22; Vulg *vestimenta*)[5]
lᵉhum 'buffetings' (Deut. 32 24 and Jb. 20:23, LXX)
lᵉhum 'intestines' (Zeph. 1 17, LXX)[6]
hᵉmud 'charms' (Ps. 39 12, construed with fem. sing verb)
arus 'gullies' (Jb. 30.16. LXX and Vulg.)[7]

fa'lat:

awlah unrighteousness' (Ps. 107.42, Pesh. and Targ.)
ga'awah 'proud men' (Ps 32:12)
ta'awah 'gluttons' (Prov. 21.26)

1 So Arab. plur *kifaru* 'darkness of night' (?) and *kufuru* 'soil' both as covering the earth

2 II Ki. 25 24 *('abde hakkasdim)* - Jer 40 9 *(abod hakkasdim)*.

3 Arab sing. *jabalu* plur. *jibalu, ajbalu* 'hill(s)'

4 Arab sing. *dakaru* plur. *dakuru* 'male(s)'

5 Arab. sing. *libsu* plur *lubusu* 'garment(s)', also *labusu* 'cloth 1 k

6 Arab. sing *lahmu* plur. *luhumu* meat(s)'

7 Arab. sing. *ardu* plur. *'urudu* 'folds (s)'.

dallah 'poor people'
hayyah 'living creatures';

AXII **fi'lat:**

yir'ah 'fearers' (II Sam. 23.3, Pesh.; Ps. 119:38 Prov. 19:23, 23:27)
qin'ah 'zealots' (Is. 26:11, Vulg. and Targ.; Ps. 69:10, 119.3)[1]
pirhah 'brood' (Jb. 30:12 with plur. verb; cp, Vulg.)
ris'ah 'wicked men' (Prov. 13:16, LXX[a])
sibyah 'captives' (Deut. 32:42, Pesh. and Targ.)
issah 'woman', also 'women' (Jud. 21.16 and I Sam. 21:5, Vulg.);

fu'lat :

susah 'horses' (Josh. 19 : 5 ; LXX)[2] ;

fa'ilat :[3]

b^ehemah 'cattle' (*passim*)
n^ebelah 'corpses' (Ps. 79 : 2, LXX and Vulg.)
p^eletah 'fugitives' (Neb. 1 . 2, LXX)
s^erefah 'charred corpses' (Numb. 17 2, LXX) ;

fa'ilat :[4]

'oyebet 'enemies' (Mic 7 · 8, 10)
yosebet 'inhabitants' (Is. 12 6, LXX ; Mic. 1 . 11, Targ.)
golah 'exiles'[5]
sarah 'adversaries'[6] (Ps 22 : 12 , 54 : 9 and 138 . 7, parallel *oy^ebay* 'my enemies') .

1 So in *Vet. Testam* XV 274

2. Hence Josh. 19 5 *(susah)*=I Chron. 4 . 31 *(susim)*.

3. Unless the Hebr. words of this form correspond to the diminutive arab. *fu,ail*, used in a contemptuous sense.

4. Wright *op, cit.* 232.

5. Arab. *jaliyatu* 'exiled people'.

fa'ilat :

g^e^birah 'dynasts' (Jer. 13 : 18, LXX)
r^e^miyah 'slackers' (Prov. 12 : 27) ;

A XXVI **fu'ulat :**

g^e^burah 'heroes' (Exod. 32 : 18, LXX and Vulg. ; Is. 3 : 25, LXX and Vulg.)[1]
halusah 'defeated men' (Exod. 32 : 18, LXX and Vulg.)
m^e^lukah 'kings' (Is. 34 : 12, LXX)
q^e^burah 'buried bodies' (Ezek. 32 : 23, 24) ;

fu'ullat :[2]

'abuddah 'servants'[3] (Gen. 26 : 14, Jb. 1 : 3)
p^e^quddah 'commissioners' (Is. 60 : 17, LXX ; II Chron. 24 : 11 LXX)[4] ;

A XXII **fa'la :**

esreh 'ten' (properly 'decade')
sarav 'captains' (Jud. 5 : 15, LXX and Vulg.)
gobai 'locusts' (Am. 7 : 1, LXX ; Nah. 3 : 17, Vulg.)
horay 'white stuffs' (Is. 19 : 9, Vulg.)
soneh 'flocks' (Ps. 8 : 8, LXX and Vulg.)
sone' 'flocks' (Numb. 32 : 24, LXX and Vulg.) ;

fi'la :

kilay 'churls' (Is. 32 : 5, Targ.) .[5]

1 But *gibborim* in Scroll A.

2 Only as an infin. form (Wright *op. cit.* I III §196, 13).

3 As distinct from *abodah* 'service' ; also Ps. 104 : 14 (Graetz).

4 Cp. Ezek. G : 1 (LXX).

5 Also *kelay* 'churls' (Is. 32 : 7, LXX), both being properly abstract nouns ; cp. *'iwweleṯ* 'folly' and 'fools' (Prov. 24 : 9). The word is perhaps derived not from the √*nkl*, as given in current dictionaries, but from the √*kyl* ; cp. Arab. *kala* (y) I '(a firebrand) failed to give forth fire' II '(a man) was timid and pusillanimous' III 'vied (with another man) in abuse' V 'took up a position in the rear in battle'.

fu'la :

suray 'defaulters' (Jer. 17 : 13, LXX)
zureh 'wind-eggs' (Is. 59 . 5) ;[1]

A XIII **'af'ul :**

'*aksub* 'spiders' (Ps. 140 : 4, Vulg. *aspides*) .[2]

A XIV **'af'al :**

'clods of earth, mound' (LXX at I Sam. 20 . 19)
'*egrof* 'fist' as consisting of the fingers in a grasping position[3]
eskol 'grapes in a cluster'[4]
efroah 'young birds'[5]
'*arbeh* 'locusts' (Vulg. *locustae*, often)
'*ef'eh* 'snakes' (Is. 30 · 6, LXX) ;
'*akbar*[5] 'mice'
'*aqrab*[6] 'scorpions' (Deut. 8 . 15) ;

fa'lan :

rason 'acceptable things' (Deut. 33 · 16, LXX ; Ps. 145 : 16, Targ.) ;

fi'lan :

[*nisan*] 'flowers' (Ct. 2 12) ,[7]

1. Driver in *Journ. of Theol Stud.*, N S. XII 374-5 and W-moller in *Vet Test* IV 324-5
2. With 'for' (s. Koehler *Oudtest. Stud.* VIII 150-1 and *Journ. of Sem Stud.* I 17).
3. Arab sing. *jurfu* plur '*ajrafu* 'bank(s) carried away by flood waters
4. Arab. '*itkalu* and '*itkalu* 'cluster of dates'.
5. Cp Hebr. *pirhah* 'brood' with plur. verb (Jb. 30 12), Arab. sing *farhn* plur. '*afrahu* 'young bird(s)'.
6. Driver in *Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, N S. XII 374-5 and W-moller in *Vet. Test.* IV 324-5
7. Only in double plur. forms *nisanim* and *qimmesonim*)

B I **fa'alil :**

'aroer 'sand-grouse' (Jer. 48 . 6)[1]
'aroer 'juniper-bushes' (Jer. 17 6 , Vulg. *myricae*)

Further, a small number of gentilic terms and place-names have been claimed as 'broken plural' forms

A V **fi al :**

'edom 'red land' or 'ruddy people' (?), *i e.* Edom, Edomites,[2]

A IX **fa'ilat :**

p'leset 'invaders' *i e.* Philistines ;[3]

A XXVI **fu'ulat :**

y'hudah 'lowlands' *i e* Judah or primarily its low-lying parts (cp. Josh 19 38)[4] ;

A X **'af al :**

argob 'clods of earth' *i e* Argob ;

A XVI **fawa'il :**

'amalcq 'Amalekites' ,[5]

fa'lan :

'ammon 'kindred tribes, group of clans' *i e* Ammonites ,

1 Arab *girgiu* 'guinea-fowl' (s Noldeke *Beitr. . Sem Sprachw* 116).

2 Cp G A Smith *Historical Geography of the Holyland* [1931] 557-8

3 Possibly a non-Semitic name semitized (Acc *palasu* 'to break into' and so on), s Haupt in *Journ of Bibl. Lit*, XXXV 280 and Driver in *Journ of Theol. Stud* , N S XII 65)

4 Arab *wahdu, wahdatu* 'low lying land'

5 La garde *Bildung d Nomina* 62 , if a 'broken' plur. form, possibly Arab *'imlaqu* 'gigantic , adventurer' (Allegro), unless this word is derived from the name (s Barth *Nominalbildung* 160).

A XVIII **fi'lan :**

sidon 'fishermen', *i.e.* Sidon as originally a settlement of fishermen.

B I **fa'alil :**

'aroer '(place of) juniper-bushes' (?), *i.e* aroer.

Other words are very dubiously included in the category of 'broken' plural forms : for example the Arab. sing. *'a'waru* plur. *'uranu. 'iranu* 'blind man/men' has been cited to prove that the Hebr. *'iwwaron* 'blindness' must or may originally have been a 'broken' plural form meaning 'blind men', which has come to have only an abstract meaning; but the Arabic word never has the abstract, the Hebrew word never the concrete sense postulated by this equation !

A certain number of words, too, which cannot be regarded as 'broken' plural forms, while normally having a singular meaning are occasionally treated as collective nouns with a plural meaning. Such are

'armon 'palace' mistranslated 'foundations' (Am. 1 : 4, 7. 10, 12, 14 ; LXX) ;

m^{e}'olel 'exactors' (Is. 3 : 10, LXX and Vulg.);

milhamah 'war ; weapon(s) of war' and also 'armed men' (Exod. 1 : 10 with plur. verb ; Exod 13 : 17 and Josh. 8 : 11, Pesh. and Targ. ; I Ki. 5 : 17 with plur. verb, LXX Luc. ond Targ) ;[1]

mamlakah 'kingdom' and 'kings' (Lam. 2 : 2 LXX and Pesh. ; II Chron. 9 : 19);[2]

mirmah 'slander' and 'slanderers' (Prov. 14 : 25);[3]

1. Glossed *'am* 'people. army' (Josh. 8 : 11).
2 Co Phoen. *mmlkt* 'royal persons' (Cooke N.-Sem. *Inscr.* 18-19 3 11; dated in the 5-4th century B C.)
3. Co. *Biblica* XXXII 196.

*m*e*qomah* 'opposition' and 'opponents' (Nah. 1 : 8 ; LXX, Vulg. and Targ)

Other problematic words are *'abattiah* 'mrlons' and *qimmson* 'nrttles' (Prov. 24 : 31).

The Ugar. *t'dt* 'envoys' (cp. Hebr. *t*e*'udah* 'testimony') may be added to the nouns of this class ; for no 'broken' plural forms with a *t*-prefix are known.

This use of feminine singular forms with a collective sense is carried to the farthest pitch in *iwwelet* 'folly' and also 'fools' (Prov. 24 . 9, Targ) and *nokriyah* 'strange woman ; strangers' beside the ordinary plur *nokrim* 'strangers' (Prov. 20 : 16, 27 ; 13); this plural form is very common with Arabic terms in-*iy* describing members of a family or sect.[1]'

A peculiar collective (') plural form may perhaps be seen in *bamotay* 'heights' (*passim*) and *neginotay* 'stringed music' (Is. 38 . 20 Hab. 3 · 19), where the pron.—*ay* 'my' cannot be intended; and these forms occur too often (some 15 times) to be dismissed as textual errors [2] The Ugar. *hrky* 'pools' and *mnhy* 'gifts' (')[3] have perhaps the same termination Its origin is obscure ; but it may have been an old abstract and collective ending like the Hebr.—*ay*—*eh* in *'isseh* 'fire-offering (s)' ond several other nouns, the Arab—*ay*/-a found in some 'broken' plural forms (*fa'la. fi'la. fu'la*) and the Eth —(*i*) *ya* occasionally used in forming collective nouns, for example in *'anset* (*t*) *ya* 'womenfolk' from *'anset* 'woman ; women'[4] in this case either the plur. *ot*—is an error for the sing.—*at*—or the terminations are those of a double plural form.

Such double plural forms are not uncommon in the N.—Arabic dialect[5] and occur also in the S —Arabic and Ethiopic

1 Wright *op cit* I 732-3

2 Such as *hasufay* (Is 20 4) and *hallonay* (Jer. 22 14), s. Kautzsch & Cowley *Hebrew Grammars* 87 g, 89d.

3 Driver *Canaan Myths and Legends* 129 (7).

4 Dillmanns & Crichton *Ethiopic Grammar* 313-4.

5 Wright *op cit* I 199-232

dialects.[1] Possible instances of these forms can be found in the W.-Semitic dialects, for example Ugar. *'udm't* 'tears. and *'usb't* 'fingers',[2] and even the Hebr. *'esba'ot* 'fingers', Phoen. *'gddm* 'troops, gangs';[3] and indeed, if they are based on collective or 'broken' plural forms, the Pun. *gubulim*[4] and the Hebr. *gedudim* 'troops' will have to be included in this category.[5] In all these forms, however, the prosthetic *'alif* is most easily explained as a phonetic device to facilitate pronunciation.[6] Contrariwise, the Ugar. *'agzr* 'morsels' and *'ugr* 'pits' may perhaps be 'broken' plural forms, although they too can be reasonably explained like the rest of the class here discussed ; and other Ugaritic forms may be nothing but collective rather than 'broken' plural forms.[7] In the other Semitic dialects supposed or conceivable 'broken' plural forms are as rare as they are uncertain ; but some that have been cited are the Acc. *suhru(m)* 'little ones' (sing. *sahru, sehru* 'little, small') and the Syr. *hemra* 'asses' (sing. *hmara*) 'ass' and *qurya* 'cities' (sing, *qrita* 'city').[8] These, however, can be explained as easily as collective forms, as words like the Syr. *salway* 'quails' certainly is.[9]

In the proto-Semitic speech many nouns describing the commonest objects must have been used, before the development of plural terminations, indiscriminately for either number; and Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, has preserved traces of this stage, *e.g* Hebr. *'adam* 'man ; men. mankind' and

1. Hofner *Altsudaab. Gramm.* 102-4 and Dillmann & Crichton *op cit.* 299-317
2. Driver *op. cit.* 129†7.
3. Dolling & Ronner *Kananaische u. Aramaische Inschriften* I 5-6, 26 A i 5.
4. Plautus *poenulus* i 9
5. Cp. Hebr. *ezroa* 'arm, arms (?)'.
6. Friedrich *Phonizisch-Punische Grammatik* S95 c (1).
7. Cp. Aistleitner *Untersuchungen z. Grammatik d. Ugaritischen* 41-3.
8. Cp. Moscati *Semitic Languages* 89, s Noldeke *op. cit.* 61-2.
9. Cp. Syr *tanway* 'terms, condition' which is a fem. abstract noun (s. Noldeke & Crichton *Syriac Grammar* † 83)

'enos 'man, men' but Arab. *'unasu* 'men' always in a plural (generally collective) sense, and contrariwise Hebr. *taf* (*f*) 'children' always with collective force but Arab *tiflu* 'infant' only with an individualizing sense.

Collective constructions are common enough in all languages, especially those in which a noun singular in form but collective in sense is constructed with a plural verb in the same gender (where the genders are kept distinct). Hebrew examples are the following ;

'ab^eru haggoy hazzeh 'et-b^eriti

'this nation has transgressed my covenant' (Jud. 2 : 20)

nas^e'u ha'am 'the people journeyed' (Numb. 11 : 35)

piohah yaqumu 'a rabble rises up' (Jb. 30 : 12)

qar^ebu p^equddat[1] *ha'ir* 'the officers to punish the city approach' (Ezek. 9 : 1)

When *kol* 'all' is prefixed, the verb may stand in either number, although the plural form is much preferred, as in

tammu kol haggoy 'all the nation had finished' (Josh. 3 : 17, 4 : 1)

tam kol-ha'am 'all the people had finished' (Josh 4 : 11)

kol-haam yism^e'u 'all the people were listening' (Deut. 17:13)

Such variations of idiom raise no dfficulties and call for no comment, even when a collective feminine singular subject precedes a plural verb, as in

kol- ha'ares ba'u 'all the country came'(Gen. 41:51)[2]

1 Coll. sing. form for the plur form in the Hebr. text (LXX, cp Symm).

2 Cp. Brockelmann *op. cit.* II 98.

What is unusal is the use of a collective masc. sing.noun such as *am* 'people' in the Old Testament with a feminine singular predicative term: for example *maddua sob'bah haam hazzeh*

'why is this people wayward?' (Jer. 8.5) *hattat ammeka* 'thy people are in default,[1] (Exod. 5:16) *wayyiru et-haam . . . yosebet-labetah* 'and they saw the people dwelling in security'[2] (Jud. 17:7)

hadarah wahamonah 'her nobles and her masses' (Is. 5:14, where 'her' referes to *ammi* 'my people').

Emendation in all these passages, except perhaps the second, is easy but needless; for three or four instances are enough to establish the usage,[3] and the fact that the Arab. *qaumu* (*n*) 'people and *rakbu* company of 'wayfarers' as well as similar words are similarly used[4] confirms it.

The extension of this construction to other Hebrew collective nouns, whether describing persons or things, though rare, is not unknown as in

saba tinnaten 'a host was delivered up' (Dan. 8:12)

hassob gal'tah 'the captive host went into exile' (Nah. 2:8. correcting *hussab gull'tah*[5]

watta'al hassefardea 'and the frogs came up' (Exod. 8:2)[6]

1 Or *hat',at - nat''ah* Rosenmuller with Saadyah) or *hote't* (Targ. Onq), not *hattat imm'ka* (Symmachus) 'the fault (is) with thee' (Quell *ap.* Kittel), which would cost the speaker his life!

2. Subsequently the fem gender is given up and replaced by masc. participles (s. *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.* LXXV [1948] 165-9).

3. Gesenius *Thes. Ling. Hebr et Chald.* [1829] 1041.

4. Wright *op. cit.* I 181 † 292b, cp. Nah. 2 5, where the kebr *rekeb* 'cavalry, chariotry' is Similarly treated as a fem. coll. noun, so that emendation is not necessary

5. So in *Journ. of Theol. Stud* , N S. XV 296-8.

6. Beside *wayyamutu hass'fard'im* 'and the frogs died' (Exod. 8:9)

*mal*ᵉ*hah s*ᵉ*ba'ah* 'her services are fully rendered' (Is. 40:2, if rightly so translated with LXX, Vulg. and Pesh.).

This same construction is stretched to include the names of tribes and nations, whether singular or plural in form, in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, literature, as shown by the following examples:

*'ab*ᵉ*dah misrayim* 'Egypt is destroyed' (Exod. 10 : 7)

wattehezaq misrayim 'and the Egyptians wear urgent' (Exod. 12 : 33 ; cp. II Sam. 10 : 11)

*watt*ᵉ*hi mo'ab / 'aram . la'abadim* 'and the Moabites/Ammonites .became slaves' (II Sam. 8 : 2, 6)

haserim teseb qedar 'the villages (that) Kedar inhabits' (Is 42 11)

*w*ᵉ*hayᵉtah kasdim l*ᵉ*salal* 'and the Chaldaeans shall become a spoil' (Jer 50 : 10)

The same construction may be used even with two subjects, as in

*watta'arok yisra'el ur*ᵉ*fistim ma'arakah* 'and Israel and the Philistines drew up their lines of battle' (I Sam 17 21)

This construction, however, though tolerated in the earlier period, seems to have been disapproved (and even perhaps to have died out) in the later, as shown by comparing

wattabo' 'aram (II Sam 8 5)[1]

with *wayyabo'* 'aram (I Chron 18 5)

'and the Aramaeans came'

Both these constructions with masculine or feminine verb

1 also nas 'aram 'the Aramaeans have fled' (II Sam. 10 : 14).

occur side by side in early Aramaean inscriptions, for example

msryn mrdt) 'Egypt rebelled'[1]
and *msryn mrdw*)

and *msry mrdw* 'the Egyptians rebelled'[2]

Both constructions are admitted also in the Arabic language, as in

tajamma'at 'uqailu^n waqusairu^n watasakau' 'the tribes of 'uqail and Qusair came together and complained'.[3]

This usage is then extended yet further, so that the Hebr. *b^{e}ne* and Arab. *banu* 'sons of ..' in tribal names may be or are treated as fem. sing. nouns, being in effect collective terms, as in

Hebr lo' tizzaker b^{e}ne 'ammon 'the children of Ammon (*i.e.* the Ammonites) shall not be remembered' (Ezek. 25 : 10)

Arab. *huzimat banu numairi^n* 'the sons (*i.e.* tribe) of Numair were (was) defeated'[4]

This usage came to include any plural term or group of terms which could be regarded as in any sense collective and indeed where no collective idea could in any real sense be found, whether the subject masculine or feminine in gender ·[5] *e.g.*

(1) when the subject was a masculine plural noun,

(a) when the verb preceded the subject

lo' tim'ad 'asurayw 'his footsteps will not totter' (Ps. 37 . 31)

1. Driver *Aram. Doc. 5* 6, 7.

2. Cowley *Aram Pap. 27* 1.

3. Wright *op cit.* II 292 †147, s. 291 †145.

4. Brockelmann *op. cit.* II †99e ; cp. Wright *Op. cit.* II 290 †143b and 296 †152a.

5. Cp. Kautzsch & Cowley *Hebr. Gramm.* †145k, where the construction is unduly restricted to plural names of beasts, inanimate things and abstract terms.

hayᵉtah 'elayw pᵉne hammilhamah 'the face of the battle was against him' (II Sam. 10 : 9)

tistof sᵉfihead afar-'ares 'its overflowings wash away the dust of the earth' (Jb. 14 : 19)

tithaddes . nᵉ'urayki 'thy youth ..will renew itself' (Ps. 103 : 5)

tiqra.. mᵉguray missabib 'my terrors are present...on every side' (Lam. 2 : 22 LXX)

(b) when the verb is in a dependent clause ·

hat samayim...wᵉtered 'tip the heavens.. and they will come down' (Ps. 144 : 5)[1]

(c) with two subjects, one of each gender :

safᵉtah bᵉhemah wa'of 'beasts and birds are swept away' (Jer. 12 4).

Indeed, the Massoretes already attempted to eliminate this construction, which they failed to understand, in several places, for instance in

arayw nissᵉtuh 'his cities are burnt down' (Jer. 2 : 15, for *nissᵉtah*)

suppᵉkuh assuray 'my footsteps had slipped' (Ps. 73 · 2 ; for *suppᵉkah*) ;[2]

bi'uteka simmᵉtutuni 'thy sudden assaults undo me' (Ps. 88 . 17 ; for *simmᵉtat'ni*);

panay homarmᵉruh 'my face was flushed' (Jb. 16 : 13, for *homarmᵉrah*) ;

samayim sifrah 'the heavens are clearness' for 'clear' (Jb. 26 . 13, for *safᵉrah*) ;

1. Absurdly mistranslated 'bow thy heavens. and come down' (R V.) as the parallel clause shows.

2 Cp Deut 21 7

(2) when the subject was a feminine plural noun,

(a) when the verb preceded the subject :

'al^etah 'arm^enoteka sirim 'thy palaces sprout with thorns' (Is. 34 : 13)[1]

'ad-matay talin b^eqirbek mahs^ebot onek 'how long will thy evil thoughts stay with thee?' (Jer. 4 : 14)

nilk^edah haqq^eriyot w^ehamm^ezadot nitpasah 'the cities are taken and the fortresses seized' (Jer. 48 : 41 ; *haqq^eriyot* corrected to *haqq^erayot*)

qamah...mahs^ebot 'adonay the lord's purposes stand' (Jer. 51 : 29)

tassigehu ..ballahot 'terrors...overtake him' (Jb. 27 : 20)

nihatah[2] *qeset ..z^ero'otay* 'my arms aim a bow. .' (Ps. 18 : 35)

(b) when the subject preceded the verb ·

banot sa'ādah 'ale sur 'the shoots climb up the wall' (gen. 49 : 22)

hatto'tenu 'an^etah banu' our sins bear witness against us' (Is. 59 : 12)

kol-ro'ayik tir'eh ruah 'all thy shepherds shall go with the wind' (Jer. 22 : 23)

bahamot sadeh ta'arog 'eleka 'the beasts of the field crave for thee' (Jo. 1 : 20)

'atisotayw tahel 'or 'his sneezings flash forth light' (Jb. 41 : 10)

mahasabot b^e'esah tikkon 'plans are made sure by counsel' (Prov. 20 : 18 ; cp. 15 . 22)

gader 'abanayw neherasah '(as for) a wall, its stones are torn down' (Prov. 24 : 31 ; *geder* corrected to *gader*)

1. Cp. Is. 40 : 31 for the accus. case.

2. Namely *nihh^etah* from Hebr. *nahah* Arab. *naha* 'turned, directed, aimed' ; var. *nihat* (II Sam 22 : 35) error for *nihat-nihhat* (archaic 3rd fem sing form of perf. tense, Pi.) ; s *Welt d. Orients* I 410 and *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXIX173.

wattiqra lunna'ar 'i-kabod 'and they (*sc*. the woman previously mientioned as standing by)[1] called the boy Ichabod' (I Sam 4 : 21)

The same construction is found with a compoud or numerical subject, as in

sarah wāhabalim 'ahazattah 'distress and pangs seize her' (Jer. 49 . 24)

hatabo' l'ka seba' sanim ra'ab 'shall seven years of famine come to thee ?' (II Sam. 24 . 13)

It may also be carried through into a dependent clause, as in

s''al-na b'hmot w'torekka 'ask now the beasts, and they will instruct thee' (Jb. 12 : 7, *si vera lectio*)

salehah na'aroteah tiqra 'she has sent out her maidens (that) they may call'[2] (Prov. 9 : 3)

Both these constructions are confirmed by similar idioms in the cognate languages [3]

(1) where a feminine singular verb precedes or follows a plural masculine noun ·

Ugar. *tib' mla'km* 'the messengers departed'
tlhm (n) rp'um tstyn 'the ghosts ate (and) drank'
smm smn tmtrn 'the skies rain down oil'
nhlm tlk nbtm 'the gorges ran with honey'[4]

O.-Aram. *t'rk ywmy* 'may my days be long';

(2) where a feminine singular verb precedes a feminine plural noun

Bab.-Can *halqat matat sarri* 'the king's lands are destroyed'[5]

1. The child's mother was already unable to speak and could not have named him (cp. Ru 4 14-21).

2. Not 'she hath sent forth her maidens, she crieth' (R V), which negates the purpose of sending out the maidens '

3. Cp. Albrecht & Moran in *Journ. of Cun. Studies* II 243 4

4. Driver *op cit*. 130 §15.

5. Kunditzon *Amarna-Tafeln 286* 22-3.

(3) where the subject is a masculine plural noun preceding or following the verb :

Bad.-Can. *LU'-MES (=awilu) bitatu sa asat* 'rescue-troops who come out'.[1]

A few unusual or irregular constructions, presumably colloquial in origin, may be added, for example

so'n 'obᵉdat hayu/hayah 'ammi 'my people have been lost sheep' (Jer. 50 : 6)[2]

habbaqar hayu horᵉsot 'the cattle were ploughing' (Jb. 1 : 14)[2]

'anah panayik[3] *mu'adot* 'whither is thy face set ?' (Ezek. 21 : 21)

pāni (m)[3] *hafukot 'im 'is kᵉsil* 'a face turned towards[4] a fool' (Ecclus. 31 : 20)

The first two show a natural extension of collective constructions, especially as the Hebr. *baqar* like the Syr. *baqra* 'cattle' may here and there be treated as a feminine noun ; emendation to a masculine form[5] is therefore not only needless but also incorrect. In the third *mu adot* might be an error for *muadet*,[6] which classical usage would probably prefer or even required, if it were not supported by the post-classical *hafukot* in the fourth passage. The construction in these two passages may therefore probably be explained as due to the false analogy of that found with dual nouns, for example in *yadayim rafot*

1 *Ibid* 99 22

2. Cp. Gen. 33 13 and Ezek. 34 . 12.

3 Apparently *panim* 'face' is a plur. form of *peh* 'mouth' as the principal feature in a plur number representing all the features of the face (Thureau-Dargin in *Rev d'Assyriol.* XXII 175).

4 Cp Ugar. *'m* 'to, towards, against' (Driver *Canaan Myths and Legends* 142).

5. Budde *Hist* (1913) 4, whose needless *horᵉsim* still persists (Bear *ap.* Kittel *Bibl. Hebr.* [1937] 1106).

6. Cp. Driver in *Biblica* XXXV 154-5 , cp. Ib 16 : 13. The proposed *mu'adim* (Bewer) has nothing to commend it.

weak hands' (Is. 35 : 3) and *'ênayim ramot* 'haughty eyes' (Prov. 6 : 7).[1]

The recognition of these somewhat peculiar Semitic consructions permits the correction of the text in a few passages where, as it stands, it cannot be accepted on grammatical grounds or even does not make sense : for example

binweh tannim rab'sah 'in the steppe (where) wolves lurk' (Is. 35 ; 7 *ribsah* thus corrected with Vulg. and Targ.);

k'hindof 'asan tinnadef 'as smoke is scattered, (so) shall they (*sc.* thine enemies) be scattered' (Ps. 68 ; 3 · *tindof* thus corrected w LXX, Vulg., Pesh., Targ.)[2]

Contrariwise, the disregard of these constructions has produced not only a number of mistranslations but also a spate of needless and unjustifiable emendations.

These may be further seen in the 'correction' of the pronominal suffixes in a considerable number of passages (*e.g.* II Sam. 22 : 23 II Ki. 3 3, 10 . 26, 13 . 2, 6, 11 Jer. 36 23 Ezek. 11:5, 25.10 Am 8 10 Mic. 2 9 Nah. 2 5 Mal 2 2 Jb. 6.20, 39.15 Prov. 21 22, and many others too numerous to be cited)[3]

The wide use of nouns in a collective sense in the West-Semitic languages suggests that all supposed 'broken' plural forms in them ought to be regarded, as they are all treated, as purely and simply collective terms ; whether they are treated, as feminine singular or masculine plural nouns seems to be largely a matter of chance. This conclusion is supported by the extraordinary rarity of such forms with peculiar syntactical treatment in the Accadian and Syriac, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic and Hebrew dialects as contrasted with the South-Semitic, Arabic and Ethiopic, dialects, in which they have been developed to an extraordinary degree. These forms seem in

1 But *s'fatayim dol'qim* 'glib lips' (Prov. 26 23), which is not an error but an instance of popular or colloquial usage, found still in spoken Arabic dialects (s. Driver *Grammar of Colloquial Arabic* 151 *ad finem)*

2. So LXX, Pesh. and Vulg. (s Albright in *Hebr. Un Coll*, *Ann* XXIII 12).

3. Cp. Kautzsch and Cowley *op cit* †135p

origin to have been abstract terms which have come in due course to serve for both singular and collective and eventually even for individualizing plural concepts.[1] In the Western group of the Semitic languages they became stereotyped and eventually became indistinguishable from other nouns ; here the material for 'broken' plural forms was at hand but was never fully developed. Contrariwise, in the southern group these were developed on such an elaborate scale as eventually to constitute a special grammatical category, easily recognized by their external form and their peculiar syntax ; this development is characteristic of the Arabic language, which is 'not so much a form of speech as a complicated mental attitude'.[2]

The original form of the noun was the simplest, showing no internal or external modification of the root, and all nouns had solely a purely general, singular or plural, sense : for example Hebr. *'enos* 'man, men, mankind ! Only with the passage of time did the need to differentiate the various nuances arise, for example, Hebr. *'anasim* '(individual) men' as distinct from men, mankind. The Arab. *'insu* 'mankind' and *'unsu* 'human society', then *'anasu* '(number of individual) men', and lastly*'insanu* '(individual) man' show the full development of the scheme.[3] So too the two Accadian plural forms reveal an early attempt to differentiate between general and particular senses for example Bab. *alu* 'city', *alu* '(general) cities' and *alanu* '(individual) cities' ; but no syntactical difference distinguishes the one type from the other.[4] Another method of distinguishing the particular from the general form was by affixing—*at* >*ah* simply as a distinguishing mark, whether of abstraction or of generalization or of individualization, as in the Hebr. *dag* 'fish, fishes' id a general and collective sense but *dagah* '(individual) fish'[5] and also '(collective) fish (es)'. Only this last class regularly took a feminine singular verb by Hebrew usage; because the termination was always to some

1. Cp Noldeke *op cit.* 58-62 ; s Jenrich *op. cit.* 5-15, who hesitatingly admits a very few Hebrew 'broken' plural forms.

2 Seton Lloyd *Foundations in the Dust* 25

3. Cp Noldeke *op cit.* 61.

4. Goetze in *Language* XXII 121-30 ; s. Gelb in *Biblioth. Orient* XII 107.

5. Alternative by *ben* 'son' or *ro's* 'head' might be used to indicate a single limit (a Noldeke *op, cit.* 59-60).

xtent associated with abstraction. the abstract sense of the /ord.

Three points telling against the theory of Hebrew 'broken' ılural forms must now be mentioned. The first is the general bsence of any specific singular collective forms beside the few upposed 'broken' plural forms (as found with *zakar*, *z^ekarim* ınd *z^ekur* ; *rokeb rok^ebim* and *rekeb* ; *'ebed*, *'abadim* and *'abod* ınd *'abuddah*). The second is that few of those forms are used ınly in a plural sense (for example *l^ebus* 'clothes' and *'arus* gullies'). In fact, the Hebrew, unlike the Arabic, language ıas no clearly marked scheme of singular, individualizing and :ollective plural, forms. Third, the treatment of such forms as ıave been cited as 'broken' plural forms is not rigidly collec-ive ; indeed, such Hebrew forms are only very rarely treated as 'eminine singular, terms whereas such treatment of the corres-ponding Arabic 'broken' plural forms is obligatory and un-varying ; the Hebrew forms are most often treated as ordinary plural terms and as such take plural terms in agreement with hem.

Consequnetly, the theory of any distinct type or types of broken' plural forms in the Hebrew language as it has been preserved in extant literature must be given up.

In conclusion, this discussion is intended not so much to hrow light, except incidentally, on a usage that is already well known from the Semitic languages as to raise the question whether it or any similar idiom is found in other Oriental anguages and whether, if so, linguistic science can suggest what its origin may have been.

THE RUBY OF THE HEART
Some Reflections about a mystical Symbol

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

Islamic countries have been famous, in times of old, for the nount of precious stones and gems which their mountains and ie treasure-houses of their rules contained; and the fairy-tales om the East, the stories of the Arabian Nights, created in urope the feeling that rubies and emeralds, turquoise and earls were more than common in the Middle East. The nagery of Oriental, especially Persian, poetry, contributed to iis general view, and the fact that the lapidaries of Islamic ithors were partly known—and be it only as transmitters of ellenistic wisdom—to the West, must have added to this icture.

Indeed the symbolism of stones is very common in Islamic oetry, and among the precious stones it was, in the first place, ie ruby, *yaqut* or *la'l*—especially the *la'l-badakhshi*—which was ied in poetical language, so that even the task of the princes f Badakhshan, Shah Sultan, executed by the Timurid ruler bu Sa'id in 1467, adopted for himself the nom-de-plume *La'li* i his Persian divan.

The Arabic lapidaries mention the ruby as the most pre-ous stone, even more precious than the diamond since the art f cutting and polishing diamonds was not yet developed, so iat the intense beauty of this stone could not be adequately idged. The Arab historians, quoting Aristotele, maintained iat if a man puts on a ring with a ruby he will not be touched y the plague; lightning, too, will not strike him, and when a iby is put under the tongue it prevents thirst. Rubies are also onsidered useful for fulfiling a person's wishes and ambitions, id for gaining his livelihood easily.

Arabic poetry, and under its influence Persian and Turkish literature, has often compared the red wine to the ruby, so frequently that 'ruby' could be used as a substitute for 'wine'. It could also, and that is again a use of the word which is known also in European literature, denote a beautiful girl, and especially the mouth of the Beloved. Maulana Rumi has elaborated this motif in a nice verse when he compares the kiss which he hopes to get from the lips of his beloved to the *zakat-i la'l*, the legal alms which the owner of a mine of rubies has to pay... But the simple symbol of the ruby gained, under the influence of mysticism, a new and much deeper meaning: one believe that the ordinary stone which lives, for millions of years, in the depths of earth, can collect in itself the beams of the sun and, by this process, be transformed into purer and more precious substance The belief of the wise of antiquity that the sun exerts some influence even on the development of the foetus in the mother's womb, which is common in astrology, may have played here an additional role. This idea of mysterious transformation of one substance into a higher and more precious one is common goal of the alchemists since time immemorial, and Evelyn Underhill has shown, in her splendid study on "Mysticism", that the mystics in different religions have compared the spiritual progress of the adept to a transformation of lower into higher matter, from copper to gold, and, in our special case, from stone to ruby This idea is reflected very frequently in the verses of Jalaluddin Rumi when he alludes to the power of the spiritual sun which is, for him, manifested in the person of his beloved Shams of Tabriz, the "Sun of Tabriz" who reflects the splendour of the Divine uncreated and eternal sun. R. A. Nicholson has, in his commentary of the *Mathnawi*(Vol. I, p. 50), explained this topos of the transformation in the sense that Divine Grace "converts knowledge derived from hearsay and tradition (*naql*) into mystical revelation (*kashf*), audition into vision, and causes the common stone of sensual ignorance to become a gem of spirituality.

Thus Rumi admonishes the wayfarer whom he incites to perpetual movement to enter into his own depths if he is unable to continue his way on the outward path, and it is understood that this interior way is the real aim of his words—just as, five hundred years later, the Sindhi mystic Shah Abdul Latif admonishes his heroine Sasui to follow

the way into her own heart where she will find the beloved. Thus Rumi continues, in the just mentioned poem :

> If thou lackest the foot for travelling, enter into thyself and accept, like a mine of rubies, the beams of the ether.

That will say that the interior transformation is the only thing which matters, and that the patient acceptance of the light of Divine Grace will change, though slowly, the innermost heart of man. And in another poem of the Divan the Divine Beloved addresses the seeker :

> Come and think of me who gave you the faculty of thinking.
> Since from my mine you purchase an ass-load of rubies.

He is compared to the mine of the most precious stone which man should purchase from Him alone. The light of the Grace of the Majesty who once looks at the Mount Sina transforms, as Rumi says in the Mathnawi (II 1332) the whole mountain into rubies. And that is why this great poet has, in another connection, considered the real enemy him who hinders the sun of reaching the stone and transforming it into ruby, i e. the real enemy is the person who stand between man and God, not allowing the beams of enlightenment to reach his soul and heart.

One should not forget that Rumi has also addressed his Beloved, in the moment of high ecstasy, as "Ruby without place", a gem beyond time and space, the sum of everything precious and spiritual and yet far beyond human apprehension. That reminds us of the poems of the Tamil saint Tayumanavar who, centuries after Rumi, has compared more than once the Absolute Being to a mountain of rubies, and approximately at the same time when Rumi praised the ruby of the soul, Dante, in his ***Divine Comedy,*** compared the Divine Love to an undescribable ruby of Badakhshan (***balascio***).

But it should not be forgotten that the transformation by which the eternal sun transforms the stone into a material similar to the ' ruby without time and space" takes a long period, a period which involves patience and suffering, perhaps more than those who watch this process can ever imagine. Nobody has expressed this side of the mystery of transformation

better than Hafiz in this beautiful line:

They say that the stone, reaching the station of Patience,
becomes a ruby—
Yea, it turns into a ruby, but with his heart-blood.

Hafiz has understood the great secret which is hidden behind this oft-quoted symbol: that transformation can be achieved only by nearly super-human patience, by tears and pangs and pains—just as the tears of the lovers have often been compared to the ruby. They are, in reality, the heart-blood of the lover who can, under the influence of the Beloved, become a spotless jewel, fitting for the crown of the highest ruler.

And it is in this strain of thought that Iqbal has taken up once more the symbol of the ruby—which is well-known throughout his poetry—in one of the quatrains of the Lale-yi Tur (No. 93, transl. by A J. Arberry):

I have no swift-paced steed to ride upon,
I am no courtier of a monarch's son.
This, friend, for me is happiness enough
That, when I dug my heart; a ruby shone.

That makes, according to Iqbal, man's life precious: that he carries, in his breast, a heart of ruby as a living witness of the transforming light of Divine grace, and of his own patience and endurance in all the difficulties of life

THE CONCEPT OF TIME IN T.S. ELIOT'S FOUR QUARTETS

ASLOOB AHMAD ANSARI

Our Journey is to the rose-garden of union-Rumi

Eliot's *Four Quartets* is a series of philosophical meditations which are, nevertheless, presented in terms of concrete and intensely evocative images of immediate feelings The presiding theme of the poem is that which has haunted the mind of poets and thinkers of all ages and varieties of persuasion, namely, the relationship between Time and Eternity. This is linked up inevitably with the meaning of history, both in its mundane and apocalyptic aspects. The explication of any poem commits us to the unenviable task of reducing the rich complexity of poetic utterance to a bald and jejune summary of it. In the case of the *Quartets* the task is rendered all the more difficult by the basic structure of the poem. This may be designated as a symphonic structure, and the five movements in each of the four poems offer an equivalent to the sonata form. The poems are, moreover, characterized by antithetical statements and reversals of tone which lead on to certain positives. Eliot's mind does not rest at one level; it moves, quietly and imperceptibly, from one pitch of intensity to another, and ranges widely through different dimensions of reality. His approach to experience is dialectical. He thinks that opposites are really two aspects of the same thing, and they are held in tension by a hidden harmony. Eliot, therefore, delights in presenting things in their contrary perspectives, and then explores the possibility of reconciling these antinomies by means of some kind of resolvent.

Any treatment of Time involves of necessity a concern with Space, for these co-ordinates are inseparable. We may as well maintain that the mobile variety of extension (Being) is

Time, and its static variety is Space. Mobility, the differentium of Time, implies a continuous change of locus. Time moves through Space but is, on that account, no more commensurate with it than the river is identical with the bed through which it flows. St. Augustine, in his own succinct way, remarks in the *Confessions*:

> "Yet, what is it we measure, if not time in some space? For we are not to say, single, and double, and triple, and equal, or any other way that we speak of time, but with reference still to the spaces of times".

This supplies one of the major clues to Eliot's thought. For Eliot Time can manifest itself only in Space; hence each of the four distinct views of time corresponds to a definite place-name. Reality is both temporal and timeless, and the temporal and the timeless enjoy a simultaneous co-existence. In this exploration of the nature of time Eliot's borrowings from Heraclitus, St. Augustine, Plotinus and Bergson have been dovetailed into a unique whole, and discursive thinking has been illumined by bright images and powerful rhythms. It is also significant that Eliot starts with making assertions and counter assertions, with precisely formulating opposite truths, and then making us realize the validity of both in the larger ontological pattern.

Burnt Norton, the first of these poems, opens with three categorical propositions: that the past and the present contribute to the unfolding of the future, and, therefore, the seeds of the future are contained within time past; that if the past, the present and the future form one continuum, then, time being a simultaneity, needs no redemption, and that Reality is constituted of what might have been—a pure potentiality—and what has been—something which has been endured and lived through. Hence the unrealized and the realized aspects of time form an indissoluble unity.

These abstract generalizations are followed by an attempt to recapture the past in a series of vivid and arresting images Here the act of disturbing "the dust on a bowl of rose-leaves" is an image of stirring what is dead and buried, and the deception of the thrush implies the subjective experience which is likely to confuse the outlines of the past and the present. In

Burnt Norton time is represented as memory, and I suspec that the following remarks of St. Augustine might have offere a stimulus to Eliot.

> "The present time of past things is our memory; the present time of present things is our sight; the present time of future things is our expectation. If thus we be permitted to speak, then see I three times; yea, and I confess there are three".

The first movement of the poem is packed with paradoxe and contradictory impacts made upon the mind by the pas and the present :

> Had the look of flowers for the roses that are looked at

This is obviously an equivalent to a throw-back to ou normal world. Similarly the figures of the "rose-garden" an the "first gate" lead us back to the idea of Eternity, and th "dry concrete, brown-edged" pool which is "filled with wate out of sunlight" is an image of the unseizableness of Realit which is lighted up by our own subjective experiences. Bu the image of the emergent reality is the laughter of childrer "hidden excitedly", which is another way of saying that th Real, because of its being a synonym for Actuality, is some thing more than the realized potentiality in the context of time This movement is rounded off by repetition of the lines a the beginning with the obvious implication that, however capri cious and jostling and discrete the memory's world, both th time past and the time potential have their point of convergenc in the present moment.

The second movement begins with light and swift rhythms and the contradictory sense-impressions contained within th unity of experience are imaged as "garlic" and "sapphires' in the mud. This co-existence of opposites in the "bedde axle-tree" as well as the rhythm of desire and death (imaged b the pursuit of the boarhound and the boar), is, nevertheless capable of reconciliation:

> And hear upon the sodden floor
> Below, the boarhound and the boar

Pursue their pattern as before
But reconciled among the stars.

The stars, according to Heraclitus, contain the concentrat of fire which is the ultimate and primal substrate. I Heraclitus, on whom Eliot largely draws in the *Quart* change is the inexorable fact of experience, but this cease and recurrent dance of atoms eventuates in a semblance harmony. Rhythm and movement characterize the mom in time, but order and stillness are of the essence of the ti less. The "bedded axle-tree", as pointed out by North Frye[1], was the common Elizabethan term for the mechan on which the universe turns. It obviously presupposes notion of the wheel at the centre of whose movement is axle-tree, and at the heart of the visible axle-tree is the a This remains static. The axle-tree is, therefore, a very image of the dualism of the flux of time and the stillness Eternity. And I am inclined to believe that it might have b specifically derived from Seneca.

The stasis existing at the core of the whirling movem is predicable of eternity, for it is the opposite of the perpe flux of the temporal. It is the focus, the "hidden attuneme behind the visible tensions, the pure mathematical point wl lies outside movement but seems to contain the principl movement in it. It is to be distinguished from fixity, for "neither movement from nor towards/neither ascent decline". It is the necessary conditioning factor of movement and it is itself immune from it and from stagnat it is "concentration without elimination", and brings about ' release from action and suffering", and also from "the ir and the outer compulsion". The still point does not amc to reversion to "primordial silence" or to inertia tha sequent upon abstraction from the mobile principle in universe, but is the ultimate goal of all movement. It prov the vantage-point from which all movement can be watc and seeks to reconcile the ecstasy and the horror of life. steady contemplation of past and future offers release f the persistent burden of consciousness—both the "heav and the "damnation" which "flesh cannot endure".

1. Northrop Frye. T. S. Eliot, p. 83

though consciousness can be put by through the act of transcending time, it is only within the context of time that its limiting aspects can be got over.

Eliot starts the third movement with employing the image of the London tube for depicting the uncertain state of mind of the contemporary man—a state of mind in which there is "neither daylight investing form with lucid stillness" nor "darkness to purify the soul". The fate of the Trimmers in Dante, condemned to live in "faint light" outside the confines of Hell, springs to mind at once. Eliot suggests two ways of escaping from the limitations of time, one is that of plenitude, and the other is that of vacancy. These are the negative and the positive ways of ignorance and knowledge. The "strained time-ridden" man of today is placed in a situation which is symptomatic of confusion, fragmentariness and instability. This involvement with the present moment and "tumid apathy" regarding the concerns of Eternity is intriguingly represented thus:

> Men and bits of paper, whirled by the cold wind
> That blows before and after time.

Eliot indirectly suggests the way of vacancy, of purgatorial darkness and of deprivation—the mystics' night of the soul—which is the necessary prelude to the dawning of illumination. Out of the seeds of darkness is born light which unlocks the mystery of life. This way of self-imposed discipline, of deliberate descent into darkness is outlined by him thus:

> Desiccation of the world of sense,
> Evacuation of the world of fancy,
> Inoperancy of the world of spirit.

The contemporary man moves in "appetency" (which connotes combination of concupiscence and appetite) and prides himself on his mechanistic and life-denying culture, and does not know either this creative renunciation or even the withdrawal from movement which might help resist the onrush of the fleeting and transient moments of time. In the process of the ideal the path upward is also the path downward, and they both meet in the purity of fire. But in the real world, as is

evident from the fourth movement, whereas the poten creative vision is suggested by the image of the sun, its inv tary extinction by time and change is figured forth b black cloud. This sense of frustration is different from vacancy which culminates in a state of renewal or well-b In this world of stagnation and sterility it is the kingfisher which typifies the hope for communication with the vital c

This notion of movement and stillness, taken up different level, illustrates the contradictory spatial and tem elements—co-existence of the end and the beginning— work of art. Eliot seems to suggest that the imprecisio feeling, the riotous exuberance, the impulse towards expressiveness and the precarious balance in an artefact c replaced by a controlled and unchanging stillness wher initial experience has been formalized adequately. complete meaning, symbolized as the World or Logos, is al in danger of being "attacked by voices of temptation"- unreason the poet is perpetually struggling to subdue the form, the pattern which helps words or poetry (in ter the dimension of space) or music (in terms of the dime of time) attain the stillness of a Chinese jar or of K Grecian Urn. And paradoxical though it may sound, si represents that state of perfection which the Unmoved M and, by an act of analogical predication, the human a hold forth as an ideal before the beholder. The same an sis, on the moral plane, is visible between desire wh movement, and love which is the cause of movement. might as well maintain that desire is made to acquire the entelechy of love in Aristotelian terms The form bound by the limitations of time, is fearful, possessive egocentric, while the latter is timeless, poised and incl But the pattern of Reality comprehends the processes bot Being and Becoming; it is in the processes of Becoming Being achieves its fullest expression. Or, in other words, the actualization of the potential which establishes the s of Existence. This enables Eliot to be transported back t ecstatic mood in which the hidden laughter of children image of latent creative affirmation of life-is welcome. can be accepted in the hope of attaining permanence stillness in spite of the wastefulness and havoc wrought b fact of mutation.

Whereas in *Burnt Norton* the basic images are suppli by the garden (derived, perhaps, from *Roman de La Ros* the bowl of rose-leaves and the dry pool, in *East Coker* enter muddy surroundings. In the earlier poem we are concerr with a civilizing process and its concomitants, in the latter w what happens on a mundane level and arrests our attention the immediate area of perception. Time is here projected i another dimension—that is, it is presented as a cyclic patte an inexorable chain of succession. It is not the way up the way down which is of prime importance here. All obje and all human activities in which we participate are subject the law of change, and the cycle of birth and death encomp ses us on all sides. The return of seasons, the motion planets, the organic rhythm of human bodies, the gestat periods, the concord of matrimony—all these are interlock patterns in the dance of life in which the whole cosmos involved. "In my beginning is my end" suggests the broken continuity and the circular movement in which l forms participate. The poet himself is caught up into vortex and finds it difficult to escape from the meshes of historical heritage and the forces that shaped it. The sense futility and despair, bound up with this monotonous repetiti is suggested briefly at the end of the first movement:

> Feet rising and falling.
> Eating and drinking Dung and death.

The second movement overwhelms the reader with suggestion of a fierce disruption which seems to permeate whole physical universe. Instead of slow rotation culmi ing in an illusion of stability, instead of creative sequenee spatial tensions, everything has a tendency to move tow a disastrous end. The earthly derangement finds its par and confirmation in the wars on the planetary scale so m so that the earth and the heavens are "whirled in vortex". This is an application of the Elizabethan ide correspondences. This endless and sterile confusion w away every vestige of a stable centre or "lucid stillness"; Heraclitean fire—the divine element of being—turns into agent of destruction, and it may well threaten ultimate cos death unless the return of the ice-cap is predicted:

Scorpion fights against the Sun
Until the Sun and Moon go down
Comets weep and Leonids fly
Hunt the heavens and the plains
Whirled in a vortex that shall bring
The world to that destructive fire
Which burns before the ice-cap reigns.

Eliot's mind is as much preoccupied with the processes o human growth as with that of endless flux Hence the "roman tic vision of chaos" conveyed in the foregoing lines yield place to the consideration of the validity of cumulative wisdon which is woven into the fabric of history. But he also recog nizes that there is only "a limited value in the knowledg derived from experience", for such a knowledge tends t become an inhibiting force

The knowledge imposes a pattern, and falsifies,
For the pattern is new in every moment
And every moment is a new and shocking
Valuation of all we have been

The line of argument runs like this. Knowledge accumu lates and gives birth to a pattern. With reference to thi emergent pattern the discrete units of experience ma and should not be over-valued. But the pattern itself i not static; it falsifies when the incubus of the accumulate wisdom becomes a dead weight. This should be safe-guarde against by giving the past a new and dynamic reconstructio so as to fit it into the endless flux. Heraclitus holds that "yo cannot step twice into the same river, for fresh waters are eve flowing in upon you", and Bergson maintains that what w call bits of knowledge are only certain cuts which discursiv intellect makes on the overflowing stream of experience in orde to make us grasp its continuity. Eliot is persuaded of th fact that it is only by means of this creative and reciproca interaction and interfusion of the different timespans that th wholeness and inviolability of the time-cycle can be preservec This movement concludes with two very significant lines:

The houses are all gone under the sea.
The dancers are all gone under the hill.

The withering sense of desolation here comes to us with shock of unexpectedness. The particularity of these lines also intentional. Both the houses and the dancers are containe within the temporal order, and the poem had started with reference to these. The sea and the hill are images of tl elemental forces with which we shall be assimilated in the lor run, and hence the cycle of birth and death is an ineluctab fact of experience

The area of futility and darkness hinted at previously wide in the next movement, and this offers a parallel to the thi movement of *Burnt Norton*. One aspect of this cyclic patte of time is represented by the pointlessness of the wearyir round of activities in which the annoymous, undistinguishe figures of London, belonging to different strata of society, a pitilessly hurled. They "all go into the dark" because they a too much absorbed in their narrow, personal ends. Th naturally enough suggests the alternative idea of a thorougl going renunciation of the self. Speaking in the tone of voi of George Herbert Eliot makes this significant statement:

> I said to my soul, be still, and let the dark come upon you
> Which shall be the darkness of God.

This amounts to what Leavis pointedly calls the "discipline (meditation". Again the images of the theatre-goer and tl traveller in the tube are employed to signify the mental empt ness of the contemporary man In a quiet but decisive manne Eliot denounces the darkness and vacancy to which the cor temporary man, on account of his loss of vital relationship wit ordered living, has fallen a victim The faith and the love an the hope of the ego-centric man are wrongly motivated, an hence they lead to nothing but frustration. This pervasiv darkness has, nevertheless, to be distinguished from the chose darkness of religious contemplation which is the necessar prelude to the enrichment and expansion of human personality Once the self is abnegated and absorbed into a larger entity and release from the burden of consciousness is achieved, th forlornness of life will have been done away with and

> So the darkness shall be the light, and the stillness the
> dancing.

It is also possible to argue that the experience of agony i necessary phase in the process of the dawning of ecstasy, the acceptance of the negative way is likely to open up multitudinous world of sensuous wealth which is otherv denied to us Adapting the Bradleyean vision of Appeara and Reality as predicable of the process of living to his (purpose, Eliot characterizes this negative, mystical approach powerful, incantatory rhythms

In order to arrive there,
To arrive where you are, to get from where you are not,
You must go by a way wherein there is no ecstasy.
In order to arrive at what you do not know
You must go by a way which is the way of ignorance.
In order to possess what you do not possess
You must go by the way of dispossession.
In order to arrive at what you are not
You must go through the way in which you are not.

The fourth movement continues the paradoxical strain to it is now added the metaphysical idiom of a Herbert o Crashaw. The frame of reference is modified though experience embodied remains substantially unaltered cyclic view is no longer visualized in terms of the interlock patterns of the succession of seasons, or periodic movement constellations or the processes of birth, maturity and de in the biological and the human world, but as reflected in spiritual life of man. The controlling images are sickness death, heat and cold, and up and down. These three sets images may have been derived, respectively, from St. John of Cross who refers to the human soul as "under medical tr ment for the recovery of its health," from Richard Rolle Hampole, and both from Heraclitus and Hermes Trismegist The rhythm of life and death as observed in the physical wo has to be inverted in the realm of the spirit. The semi idea adumbrated in this section is that spiritual death is p of the pattern of redemption and, therefore, "to be resto our sickness must grow worse". Further, that the fi purification and re-birth of the soul depends upon the mo surgery exercised by Christ who has the grace and the gift

Resolving the enigma of the fever chart.

This amounts to saying that the disorder of human histc and the sinfulness of the human soul can be removed alike the supreme act of Atonement. Our share in the Origi sin is a negative benefit (the traditional concept of *felix culp* for it needs must precede purgation of the soul of all that cli to it from the filth and mire of the material world. In t process, light and darkness do not succeed each other ir time-sequence, but are inter-twined like the roses and t briars. Suffering has a redemptive function, for unless t soul is tempered through this crucible, it does not grow vi and resistant enough to receive the innundation of lig Similarly, the "eating and drinking" of the natural m becomes, in a different perspective, the symbol of consubstant tion. The descent and ascent of the human soul, its ago and subsequent release from pain, and the union of flesh a spirit—all these are constellated into the still point. But t movement is still from the negative to the positive pole and ba again if the soul has not already grown tenacious enough to p serving and integrating its illuminations into a stable focal poi This is the systole and the diastole of the human spirit whi corresponds to the circular movement of the material wor Eliot gathers together all these crucial ideas into five lir of supreme significance in this movement.

> The chill ascends from feet to knees,
> The fever sings in mental wires.
> If to be warmed, then I must freeze
> And quake in frigid purgatorial fires
> Of which the flame is roses, and the smoke is briars.

Here the psychic states are expressed in terms of elementa physical sensations. The Heraclitean fires have becor purgatorial, but in order to function properly they are to preceded by a process of freezing And the co-existence roses and briars indicates that a resolvent emerges only whe the opposites have had a full and relentless confrontation.

The last movement examines the problem of a living ai vitalizing tradition upon contemporary art. It also recor mends that the artist may well be animated by a spirit of acti humility and strength in order to succeed in creating wor of enduring value. The simultaneous possession of a sen

of history and a sense of contemporaneity, the awareness ‹ continually renewed and organic relationship between the] and the present, and the conviction that the existing orde monumental works suffers an adjustment of its "proportio necessitated by the "supervention of novelty" on to it are sc of the major tenets of Eliot's critical faith and determine critical procedure. The creative impulse has to be nurtu in close relationship with the background of tradition t provides sustenance to it:

Not the intense moment
Isolated, with no before and after,
But a lifetime burding in every moment
And not the lifetime of one man only
But of old stones that cannot be deciphered.

But the ideal of living beyond one's insulated self, and i spirit of humility and submission, has to be realized, m importantly still, in the larger sphere of human endeavc too

We must be still and still moving
Into another intensity
For a further union, a deeper communion
Through the dark cold and the empty desolation,
The wave cry, the wind cry, the vast waters
Of the petrel and the porpoise. In my end is my beginni

And the sense of active communion with mankind has to carried still further In the lines quoted above not only the feeling of insularity and bitterness yielded place to impulse of hope and release, but there is also the expl suggestion of a wider and more intimate exploration of ultimate Reality The three worlds—the spiritual, the hum and the elemental—are not only juxtaposed but also brou within a single area of perception, and the search for comr nion and fulfilment has to be carried through on a multi level.

The Dry Salvages, employing water imagery predominan personifies time as "a strong brown god"—the dark tide man's primitive savagery, and as sea - the unfathomed ab

of man's ageless evolution Time is imaged as a river because it reflects the inexorable movement of temporal history. The voice of this god is audible in and penetrates all phases of our life. But the collective unconscious experience of the race—time as a torrential force which engulfs man in its swirl—is represented as sea. The sea encroaches upon the dykes round our sophisticated living, and throws out "hints of earlier and other creation". The sea as a symbol of Eternity has had a unique fascination for poets throughout the ages. Eliot insists on the fact that try as we may, we cannot dissociate ourselves from our primitive ancestry. The sea also represents the unity of time's triple structure—past, present and future, and in that sense it may be said to have "many different voice". But such is the nature of its powerful impact that its confused surface obliterates all distinction among its different spans The groundswell which controls its apparent discord is much more violent and irresistible than the tumult of the river, and human nature partakes of this tremendous force. Eliot has tried to image the cataclysms of human life in terms of the sound and fury of the sea. Ordinary human time—measured by the clock—may be communicated in terms of the ratio; the time imaged by the sea is regulated by the groundswell which is from the beginning, and hence defies all attempts at calculation. It cannot be reduced to number or ratio, for it is supra-material: the ceaseless and eternal flux of Bergson which knows no beginning and no end, no starting-point and no terminus. It is a category of perception or is, in Plato's definition, "the moving image of Eternity". To attempt to break it into particles of moments, or reduce it to a fixed quantum—as "anxious worried women" would keep count of the clock time—is unreal and ridiculous. "The sea is all about us" in the sense that there is no escaping from the tentacles of racial history as well as from the moments of real or subjective time.

The Dry Salvages is a poem of many sorrows which reverberate throughout the second movement. The "soundless wailing" of the rhythmic flow of time, "the silent withering of autumn flowers" and the wreckage entailed by the onrush of the sea—all these drive home the sense of fierce destruction at the core of existence. The purposeless drifting on the heart of the ocean, without being anchored to any stable point

outside the flux, symbolizes the life of man to whom the mere passage of time brings emotionless years, physical and mental decay and a helpless and pathetic clinging to life. The sense of the lack of direction and purpose, of the havoc and dislocation wrought by the cosmic flow, and of the absence of a living centre in regard to the future, are conveyed with insistent concern by Eliot thus.

> We cannot think of a time that is oceanless
> Or of an ocean not littered with wastage
> Or of a future that is not liable
> Like the past, to have no destination.

The tone becomes more emphatic and ominous, the shadows begin to lengthen and grow menacing when it is realized that the hegemony of Death extends so widely that no bounds can be set to it. The capacities of the individual to withstand its onslaught are reduced in the long run to a mere bone on the beach, thus signifying absolute nothingness:

> There is no end of it, the voiceless wailing,
> No end to the withering of withered flowers,
> To the movement of pain that is painless and motionless
> To the drift of the sea and the drifting wreckage,
> The bone's prayer to Death its God.

This is followed by yet another stance from which the time past, often discarded by the holders of superficial notions of evolution as mere debris, is evaluated. Sequence and development alone do not subsume the reality of Time; it has a vitalizing centre and a comprehensive range Its pattern embraces not only the experience of one life-time, but that of many generations; it is inclusive also of pre-historic memorie —"the backward look behind the assurance of recorded history", and the primitive horror and the primitive ignorance. The "moments of agony", along with the "moments of happiness", also compose the mingled yarn of the seamless texture of time. It is further suggested that it is the disinterested contemplation of the panorama of human existence as revealed in the agony of others—since we are too closely involved in our own to distance our experience adequately—that brings sudden illumination to us. This is tantamount

to the realization that in spite of the utter chaos the volcanic time-cycle brings in its wake, both destruction and preservation are of perpetual and simultaneous validity. There is thus a sort of ambivalence inherent in the structure of time:

> Time the destroyer is time the preserver,
> Like the river with its cargo of dead negroes, cows and chicken coops,
> The bitter apple and the bite in the apple.
> And the ragged rock in the restless waters,
> Waves wash over it, fogs conceal it.

Here river is the image of the continuous process of human life, "the bitter apple and the bite in the apple" is commensurate with man's first taste of experience and its rueful consequences for the subsequent history of man, and "the ragged rock" symbolizes the point of stasis in the flow of duration—the sense of permanence in the midst of change and movement. The movement concludes with the idea that this pattern of unity in which creation and destruction are co-existent is always the same at any moment in the flux It is the understanding of this aspect of time which is cryptically referred to earlier as an "approach to the meaning" that "restores the experience".

The third movement visualizes man as caught up in the sequence of time while travelling in a train or on an ocean-liner. The imagery employed here is homely and realistic and reinforces the idea of constant flux. In this journey on land or sea, consciousness gets the better of the sense of time in as much as both the passengers and the mode of passage belong to the same dimension. One has the illusion of being swept away by the swirl of time, but in reality development and progression occur within the orbit of consciousness. The result is that time as divisible into distinct spans loses its identity; the spans merge into one another. When this withdrawal takes place, the future becomes, "a Royal Rose or a lavender spray . . . . ./ pressed between yellow leaves of a book that has never been opened". When Being is thus suspended between the two extreme poles we can afford to be indifferent to the past and the future. Alternatively, it becomes possible "to consider the future and the past with an equal mind". This may pave the way for disinterested action—

indifference to fruits of action and absorption into higher and more intense modes of being. This is what makes Krishna's advice to Arjuna meaningful to us.

> Not fare well,
> But fare forward, voyagers.

And it is only when both action and contemplation are pursued for their own sake that time as pure duration and flow can be fully grasped and properly evaluated.

In the fifth and last movement of the poem the preoccupation with time is explored anew. The contemporary man, wh is far from being disinterested either in regard to thought o action, is moved by an indelicate curiosity to peer into pas and future. For this he has evolved a number of media an techniques, both hieratic and frolicsome. Most of us cling t the dimension of time : some of us are fortunate, though, t experience an unexpected visitation, an unpredictable unsealin of the hidden layers of consciousness. What is apprehended i these unattended moments of partial ecstasy is mere hints an guesses, a mere sensory reaction to the variegated glory an splendour of the physical world and the inexhaustible source of energy lying behind it. But "to apprehend (the point of in tersection of the timelesswith) time" is the prerogative an occupation for the saint only. Eliot further suggests that fo the assimilation of the concept of Incarnation, mere effacemen of consciousness in moments of ecstasy will not do. For Elio as for Langland, Incarnation is an ineffable mystery. It is nc an isolated historical happening but something which is pe petually enacted in every soul once it has been thoroughly re deemed by the practice of "prayer, observance, disciplin thought and action". It is the experience of the Godhead b the naked human soul, the Actual realized in terms of huma flesh and flood and the Absolute and the Contingent discove ing their point of convergence. It is that unique psychic stat which illuminates the profound truth of Blake's saying tha "Eternity is in love with the production of Time". Incarnatio is thus the symbol of wholeness and totality, of the union o spirit and sense and the apprehension of that timeles pattern t which the separate spans of time are only relative. If thi elusive and universal concept of Incarnation is at all capabl

of communication Eliot has tried to express it in these lines :

Here the impossible union
Of spheres of existence is actual,
Here the past and future
Are conquered, and reconciled,
Where action were otherwise movement
Of that which is only moved
And has in it no source of movement.

Being and Becoming, Existence and Essence, the divine and the human, the timeless and the temporal are fused into a totality, and in it lies the significance of this rare phenomenon. But apart for this, Eliot is very sceptical of the continuity of this absolute detachment from the self and its limitations. The only consolation lies in having made an earnest endeavour in which we

are only undefeated
Because we have gone on trying ;

Little Gidding, the last of the Quartets, opens with a sense of renewed life of unimaginable splendour. The poet's enkindled enthusiasm is betrayed by the presentation of the very unusual "midwinter spring"—a season which is "not in time's convenant". This is characterized by the outburst of a "voluptuary sweetness"—a glare that is almost equal to blindness, and a glow "more intense than blaze of branch, or brazier". The collocation of images of frost and fire, heat and cold, of antitheses like the "transitory blossom of snow" and the "bloom more sudden than that of summer" reinforces the effect of the startling and the unexpected. All this Association of unlike things by the leaping activity of the imagination is meant to be in sharp and striking contrast to the hitherto "sodden"—spiritually arid – quality of experience. This evocative description of the surrounding landscape leads us on to Little Gidding —the site of the Anglican community of contemplatives—which once served as a place of refuge as well as a centre of prayer and meditation. The essence of both these inheres in an involvement with the timeless reality. Formal or conventional prayer is a mere husk, the real meaning of prayer lies in an effacement of the self, in putting off "sense and notion" for the

reception of grace and illumination. This can be achieved here and now, in England and in this place of worship, with the halo of sanctity about it. This particular site is symbolic of the point of contiguity between the past and the present, and it is also here that one can communicate with the dead through the tongue of fire (or of prophecy). It is not for nothing that the religious and alchemical symbol of fire becomes the dominant image in this particular poem, for it is through fire that the inner being of man is transfigured and contact with the timeless reality established.

The second movement plunges us headlong into the pervasive atmosphere of desolation and futility consequent upon the loss of conviction in the spiritual values of life. All the four constituent elements of the life-process—air, earth, water and fire – no longer possess the potency to germinate. The death of the elemental quaternion implies a total annihilation of man, for air is symbolic of his intellectual capacity, earth of physical life, water of the will to live, and fire of the divine element in his make-up. We are in effect faced with the spectacle of succession without renewal, of death without hope of rebirth, and of annihilation without the possibility of reconstruction. The searing sense of vacuum and desolation reminds us of the widening circle of darkness which encompasses human destiny in *The Waste Land* and *The Hollow Men.* The first three stanzas evoke the image of the comedy of life as an utterly lurid and ghastly affair :

Ash on an old man's sleeve
Is all the ash the burnt roses leave.
Dust in the air suspended
Marks the place where a story ended.

....

That is the death of air.

....

The parched eviscerate soil
Gapes at the vanity of toil,
Laughs without mirth.
This is the death of earth.

———

Water and fire shall rot
The marred foundations we forgot,

Of sanctuary and choir.
    This is the death of water and fire.

....

"The parched eviscerate soil" may be treated as a cross-reference to *The Waste Land,* and the rotting of water reminds us irresistibly of Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner.* Sheer self-disgust as the dominant *motif* in these stanzas is unmistakable.

Eliot objectifies himself as patrolling as an air-raid warden, "in the uncertain hour before the morning" when he comes across "the spirit unappeased and peregrine", with "brown baked features"—a composite figure made up of such masters as Dante and Mallarme. He helps him emerge out of this welter of darkness and suggests the way for the building up, phoenix-like, of a new future on the ashes of the disheartening present, and thus preserve the continuity of the historical process:

Last season's fruit is eaten
And the fullfed beast shall kick the empty pail.
For last year's words belong to last year's language
And next year's words await another voice.

This proves to be the turning point and helps restore the perspective which had been rudely shattered by the ravages of war. The merely Heraclitean fire now becomes purgatorial, for it is now related to a sense of pattern and discipline, and thus gross experience is purged of its excesses and moulded into a shape of beauty. The violence of anguish has to find its release and creative transformation in a sense of continuity between the past and the present, and it is in this perspective that the future ought to be visualized:

From wrong to wrong the exasperated spirit
Proceeds, unless restored by that refining fire
Where you must move in measure, like a dancer.

The third movemeut starts with a tentative analysis of three possible attitudes to men and things which have a direct bearing upon our conception of time. One can either be attached to self and to things and to persons, or detached from

these, or grow indifferent to them, which condition, according to Eliot, is uncreative or "unflowering". Now memory ties us to the past, and desire to the future, but there is a third category, too, which subsums both memory and desire, and thus transcends them. This is the way of disinterested love or what *Bhagavad Gita* calls the state of non-attachment. It is limited neither by personal involvement nor by apathy, but embraces them both in a larger concept. Both servitude and freedom may be predicated of history. The former is in evidence when "a pattern of mere traditionalism" is imposed upon the free flow of time, but history becomes a means of liberation when the past is contemplated without bitterness, rancour or regret. Little Gidding, in the wide perspective of its glorious traditions, is evocative both of antiquity and a sense of consecration. It carries Eliot's mind inevitably back to the Civil War, and revives not only the memory of Charles I who sought refuge in this chapel after the crushing defeat of the Royalists at Naseby, but also that of Laud, Strafford, Sir John Eliot, and of Milton, too. All these men played a decisive significant role in the history of seventeenth century England, and if Eliot goes back in his mind to them:

> It is not to ring the bell backward
> Nor is it an incantation
> To summon the spectre of a Rose.

It is not an act of mere remembrance, it is the rehabilitation of history. Their memory is invoked because they have accepted "the constitution of silence" and are "folded in a single party". Knocked and pounded by the hand of Death, both the Cavaliers and the Round-heads are now "united in the strife which divided them". Seen in the perspective of the large and impartial glance of history, both sides of the conflict are done away with and fall into a coherent pattern. In other words, what these persons of diverse genius and temperament have left us is

> A symbol perfected in death.

It is this which makes their sin "Behovely" (or inevitable). A disinterested contemplation of history makes a clean sweep of all trivial and petty considerations, for detachment offers

a "field of action", where love alone is operative and where the values of the spirit alone matter. It is here that "that purification of the motive" takes place which makes us reconcile contradictory positions. For this faith in the supremacy of love which functions as a catalytic agent Eliot finds support and confirmation in the utterances of the famous medieval mystic, Madame Julian of Norwich, who is the pervasive influence in the major half of the third and the fourth movement.

The *motif* of love enunciated in the fore-going section is the unifying thread in the last two movements. The blinding force of this experience of love was fore-shadowed in the terrifying fierceness and the glowing sense-impressions in the "midwinter spring" passage at the beginning of this poem. Eliot declares unequivocally that the choice for mankind lies in being redeemed from fire by fire, that is, from the fire of sin and error by the purgatorial fire of love. Or, in other words, the destructive and infernal aspect of fire has to be replaced by its divine-creative one. The concrete image used is that of the pentecostal dove which symbolizes the intervention of God's spirit in the affairs of men This revives the memory of the chapel at Little Gidding and brings the conception of time into the foreground. In this larger pattern, the past and the present are co-existent and enjoy a simultaneous validity. The cycle of actions constituting the framework of history is to be conceived both as an end and as a beginning. The distinction between the living and the dead lies in the fact that whereas the living are immersed in the stream of time, the dead, in their detachment from it, reveal the pattern of its movement. Hence the beginning and the end seem to be interfused and recreate each other; and history embodies and reflects this moment of interpenetration.

> The moment of the rose and the moment of the yew-tree
> Are of equal duration. A people without history
> Is not redeemed from time, for history is a pattern
> Of timeless moments.

All time-processes are thus aspects of a comprehensive pattern which has to be grasped in its entirety.

Since fire is, as indicated earlier, the controlling image

in this last poem, the reconciliation of opposites is visualized to occur through the medium of the lover's knot woven in the crucible of love. Both fire and love are in devious ways the instruments through which spiritual purification is achieved. They are also images of inclusiveness in which nature and spirit lose their separateness, and the rose-garden and the chapel become symbolic of the Logos. The purgatorial fire is thus associated with the fecund still point, the living centre, the mathematical notation. The call of the bird is not only a persistent reminder that the world of nature is an inescapable reality to which one has to return, but it also symbolizes the enduring presence of the point of inter-section between the timeless and the temporal. In love, too, as Eliot came to be persuaded by the great mystics, not only are the opposites fused into a new synthesis but Reality may also be apprehended at a higher level.

> And all shall be well and
> All manner of thing shall be well
> When the tongues of flame are in-folded
> Into the crowned knot of fire
> And the fire and the rose are one.

The phrasing of the first two lines comes unmistakably from *Shewings* of Madame Julian of Norwich. The infolding of the "tongues of flame" and the "crowned knot of fire" is a very apt image of the gathering of the harvest of a life-time of devotion and suffering and self-effacing love. And in the uniting of "the fire" and "the rose" the Heraclitean and the Dantean symbols are married to produce and communicate a rare and hard-won sense of integration.

Eliot's view of time in the Four Quartets may be summed up thus. He starts in *Burnt Norton* with certain philosophical postulates; in *East Coker* and *The Dry Salvages* he examines them within an experiential matrix-time as a perpetual flux and as the intractable rhythm of individual and collective life—and in *Little Gidding* he evolves a Christian, neo-Platonic norm. Or, perhaps, we may as well maintain that here he attempts to pass a value-judgment on the categories of thought with which he had started the process of exploration earlier. The view of time as a constant flux in which we are immersed commits us

irrevocably to a sort of historical determinism and there is no deliverance from it. If we insist on proclaiming the illusory character of time, then the prospect of salvation lies in our withdrawal from or contracting out of the historical order. For Eliot Time and its mutations are real and palpable though they derive their ultimacy from some kind of Immanence. In other words, we may be neither overwhelmed by time nor grow indifferent to its fluctuations but seek to place them in their proper perspective. It may be recalled that Spenser, even more insistently Heraclitean than Eliot in his approach and emphasis, concludes the last stanza of the *Mutabilitie Cantos* thus.

> Of that same time when no more *Change* shall be,
> But stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd
> Vpon the pillours of Eternity,
> That is contrayr to *Mutabilitie*;
> For, all that moueth, doth in *Change* delight;
> But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:

Though Spenser's imaginative sympathies lie heavily on the side of mutability, by he moves ostensibly from Heraclitus to Parmenides who opposed the conception of Eternity to that of endless duration. Eliot is firmly persuaded, like Blake, that man has his foot both in Time and Eternity. Mereover, when Spenser speaks of the "God of Sabboath" as representing the point of stability in the midst of flux he is expressing the accepted Christian belief that the timeless God enters substantially into the temporal order and thereby the temporal order acquires whatever reality it may be credited to possess. Eliot, too, examines closely the nature of the flux (Bergson's pure *duree*) in *East Coker* and *The Dry Salvages* but believes that it is sustained by the Eternal which is the substratum underlying it. The flux is destructive if we regard it as an ultimate, but the flux and the Logos contained by it or encompassing it constitute the death-resurrection cycle. It is this inter-weaving of the time-less and the temporal which is glanced at by Eliot in one of the Choruses of *The Rock*.

> Then came, at a predetermined moment, a moment in time
> and of time,
> A moment not out of time, but in time, in what we call

history; transecting, bisecting the world of time, a
moment in time but not like a moment of time,
A moment in time but time was made through that moment:
for without the meaning there is no time, and that
moment of time gave the meaning.

History becomes meaningful when we conceive it not as a mere sequence of events but as an integrated patterning of all living experience. The present is modified by the past but the past itself undergoes change when it is approached from the vantage-point of the present. Moreover, whereas the past is invested with meaning by the present, the present also prepares the meaning for the future. The present, suspended between the past and the future, is, therefore, equivalent to co-existence. But it is no less true that the past, the present and the future, forming one continuum, point to the same end—the Eternal—which is the creative principle operating through them. Time is real but its reality is contingent while the Eternal or the Logos is the Absolute. Much more emphatically than even in the case of Spenser, the last poem of the *Quartets* ends on a splendid eschatological vision. What was implied as a mere wish-fulfilment in *Burnt Norton*—"the hidden laughter of children in the foliage"—is turned into a mode of "unfearful, natural living"—the "children in the apple-tree". The rose-garden not only remains unsinged by the purgatorial fire but seem to burgeon in all its plentitude and glory. This means the return to a serene and revitalized living—"a condition of complete simplicity."

REMINISCENCES OF ARAB POETS AND CRITICS

A. K. JULIUS GERMANUS

Unforgettable memories surge up in my mind in connection with the *Jamia Millia Islamia* in 1930, when under the wise guidance of Dr. Zakir Husain, the students could enjoy all the amenities of life, the depth of erudition and the sincere love of learning, truth and piety. The building of the *Jami'a* was a sanctuary of knowledge, and opposite to its site stood the research-institute of the *Ayurvedic* medicine, as a representative of the treatment of the body by mental means. The whole atmosphere exhaled the spirit of sacrifice to human welfare by devoted patriots of Mother India. I still feel gratitude to the fate that had led me into the precincts of that noble shrine of learning, and now, that I am honoured by the invitation of the Board of the Presentation Volume in honour of the President of the Republic of India, I pen these lines with a thankful devotion and an intrinsic sentiment of love.

Reminiscences are like the ivy which clings to the mouldering walls of our life, and ward off ungentle feelings of sorrow and deadly loss. Reminiscences of youth and manhood in an unbroken chain uphold us against despair and delusion, and may be a gift of solace to our friends in the turmoil of imperative duties.

The sunny weeks, which I spent as a guest in the *Jami'a Millia*, resulted in my entry into the fold of Islam, and paved the way towards my stay in Egypt and later my Pilgrimage to Mecca.

I had the luck to meet the representatives of modern Arabic literature, Abdul-Qadir al-Mazini, Mahmoud 'Abba's al—'Aqqad, Dr. Zaki Abu Shadi, Dr. Husein Heykel, Dr. Taha Husain, Ahmed Amin, Salama Musa, Ismail Mazhar, Niqola

Haddad, Amin Hasuna, Tahir Lashin, Mahmoud Teymour, Ibrahim Masri, Taufiq al-Hakim, Hasan Kamil as-Sayrafi, Kamil al-Kilani, Abdul-Ghaniy Hasan, Ahmed Hasan az-Zayyat and the pioneers of the modern Arabic novel : Najib Mahfuz, Ali Ahmed Bakathir, Amin Yusuf Ghurab, Mahmud Badawi, Abdul-Halim Abdullah, Abdul-Hamid Ju'da's—Sahhar, Yusuf as-Sibai, a galaxy of intrepid writers, who tried to elevate the present Arabic literature to the level of the ancient glory of Islamic culture. Their noble endeavour was not unvulnerable to violent controversies and sometimes harsh criticism, as it has even been the case in the heydays of Islamic poetry, when Ibn Khalawayh hit Mutanabbi with a big key for having exclaimed. "what do you, Persian fellow know about Arabic poetry!" Such a lively spirit of criticism is still alive among modern writers, who in their fervour to select the best and to reject the supposed faulty, raise the standard of true literature.

Anwar al-Jundi in his readable article (Al-Adib, August. 1966)*an-naqd bayna'l hija wa'd-qu'aba*, the Criticism between Satire and Joke, reported about the literary fight between Heykel, Mazini, 'Aqqad, Zaki Mubarak, Ahmed Amin, Ahmed and Mustafa ar-Rafi'i similarly to a match where the football used to be kicked to and fro. I myself witnessed some uncharitable survey over the achievements of an ill-fated adversary. Still every struggle, however harrassing, ultimately leads to tangible results and the new books of Arabic critics prove that a century-old strife has cleared the horizon and promises mature fruits.

A group of young writers and poets gathered and established a society under the name of *Rabita al Adab al-Arabi al-Hadith*, the chairman of which is the indefatigable research-worker and critic · Mustafa Abdul-Latif as-Saharti, collaborating with professor Abdul-Muna'im Khafaji and some excellent poetesses, like Jalila Ridha, Jamila'l-'Alaili, and others.

Saharti has laid down the results of his investigations in Western literary criticism, and boldly applied them on the new Arabic poetry in a most erudite work : *as-Shi'r al-Mu'asir'ala Dhau' an-Naqd al-Hadith*/Contemporary Poetry in the Light of Modern Criticism.

Criticism of Arabic poetry is as old as Arabic poetry itself. In pagan times the fairs of Ukadh and Dhu'l-Majaz during the sacred months gave opportunity to the poets to recite their works and to submit them to the opinion of the rapturous audience. Later, when the Arabs issued from the bondage of *Jahiliya* and became the harbingers of the religion of Islam and spread their eloquent idiom into vast territories, the old *qasidas* of Imrul-Kasi, Tarafa, Ta'abbata Sharran, Antara and the rest, still remained the models and ideals of true poetry. Public opinion in Damascus and in Bagdad judged every new poem according to the old standards. The critics laid utmost stress on the outward forms, the precision of eloquence and the strict rules of grammar. Even Ibn Sallam (II. c.h.) mustered the poets according to the length of their production. Qudama Ibn Ja'far and Ibn Qutaiba III.c.h./too, considered the value of poems as to their conformity with the technical rules of the grammarians and their own personal taste. In their opinion only such poets deserved praise as composed customary glorifying odes, satire and elegies. Consequently Ibn Qutaiba excluded Dhu-Rumma from the list of the exalted ones. Ibn al-Arabi found fault with the poetry of Abu Tammam and severely criticised him, saying that "if this be poetry, then the speech of the Arabs is nonsense."

Al-Amadi in his book: *al-Muwazana*, compares Buhturi and Ibn Tammam and prefers Buhturi, because his wordings are better chosen and his metaphors are more striking, while Ibn Tammam inserts philosophic meanings into his lines. Abdul-Aziz al-Jurjani judged poetry solely from the viewpoint of rhetorics and traces the poetical thefts and discloses those who have pilfered lines. Even Ibn al-Athir in his *Almathal-as-Sa'ir* simply stressed the correct application of the words with a disregard of the *artistic* meaning of the poems in question.

Saharti maintains that most of the modern Arab critics could not free themselves from the shackles of this formal aspect of criticism and are arguing about the verbal construction of poetic works. They seem to be still handicapped by the theories of law and legal thinking (*fiqhi*). Personal predilection still rules paramount in their conclusions and they cannot

discover the inner beauty of a product of pure art. As a consequence many a contradiction stares at us, while perusing their views.

Abdul-Qadir al-Mazini and Mahmoud 'Abbas al-Aqqad', both my intimate friends, issued a critical survey on the poetry of Shauqi, Hafiz, and Abdur-Rahman Shukri under the title ad-Diwan, and expressed a condemning opinion on their works. Mikhail Nuaima, champion of progressive literature in the emigration overdid this deprecation in his book, entitled *Ghirbal* (Sieve), by calling Shukri and Manfaliti insane, although we are inclined to consider these poets, inspite of some of their rhetorical and spiritual deficiencies, as the true representatives of modern Arabic poetry. Shauqi has instilled and revived many of his personal sentiments and predilections. It must be admitted that Aqqad has after the lapse of thirty years (1947) commuted his severe verdict on the pages of the review *al-kitab* and called the poetry a ceremonial robe as Shauqi, who enjoyed the epithet of *Amir ash-Shu ara*, was the poet a laureate of the court. The fact is that Shauqi excelled in the art of poetical description for which the riches of the Arabic vocabulary has easily lent him a help. Foremost among his descriptive poems stands the *Ghab Boulogne*. The Forest of Boulogne which Shafiq Jabri (kitab 1947) in his article *Fi Mihrab at-Tabiat* characterised as the sample of the deepest emotion Shauqi may be regarded as a late representative of the classical Arabic court-poetry, and although his style was nurtured on the models of the ancestors, a slight influence of Western ideas is discernible in it, still his laudatory odes never reach the strength, vigour and boldness of Mutanabbi

Abdul-Qadir-al-Mazini seemed to have accoutred a tiger's skin while defaming the poetry of Abdurrahman Shukri, in the "Diwan". He not only called him a false idol, which has been cast on a sea-shore, but imputed insanity to him. He advised Shukri to abandon poetry altogether in order to regain his mental equilibrium. Such scathing sentence has not been rare in Arabic literature, animated by fervour and indiscriminate passion. Notwithstanding Shukri represents the dividing line between the classicism and romanticism. He ventured on new subjects, and his thoughts are courageous, the structure of

his verses is artistic. His most excellent poems are : *Nablion wa's Sahir al-Misri ; Hulm al-Ba'th* (Dream of Resurrection) in which latter he derides the avarice of men, even after they have risen from their dead and left their graves. Most of his poems contain deep insight into the problems of humanity and he reflects them in sonorous, musical strains. Sure, his poetry was a battle—cry against the petrified models of the ancients, who hardly could understand the inner meaning of his : *Al-Malak ath—Tha'ir* (The Rebell Angel). Shukri bravely defied his critics, some of whom he called crickets (*sursur*) and continued producing poetry up to seven volumes. In these, we find a veritable mine of lyric love—poems and descriptive odes which are not simply minute sketches of details. He merges deeply into the essence and meaning of nature, with which he seems to unite. His patriotic pieces are symbolic. The influence of Shelley and Byron is unmistakable, while we feel an echo of the Andalusian Ibn Hani al-Andalusi in his verses.

The struggle of talents on the field of literature was interminable although the adversaries were poets themselves and burdened with human frailties. But the current of time brought new waves of taste in its womb and the harsh verdicts found a mitigation in the mind of former foes. Both Mazini and Aqqad have greatly ameliorated their views on Shukri's genius and later appreciated his work.

The struggle was inflamed by vanity or by other, not aesthetic motives, and we must register a most virulent effusion of anger in the form of Mustafa Sadiq ar-Rafi's' book · *Ala Safud* (On the Roastspit). This vituperation did not spare a hair on Mazini's and Aqqad's head. Ar-Rafi'i had been infuriated by an article of Aqqad in the "Diwan" in which he called ar-Rafi'i a parrot, who had pilfered some of his thoughts from him. Ar-Rafi'i retorted vehemently, denouncing Aqqad a neurotic thief and an imbecile braggart. I was scandalised by such violent passion and asked Aqqad about the matter. He calmly replied, that the truculent attack against him was simply instigated by the agents of the government who disliked his patriotic feelings and enunciations. He eventually was even imprisoned for three years, and later published a book on his prison-life.

I also asked Mazini about the matter of the literary plagia-

rism imputed to him. "I myself, was astonished", he answered, "how my *Rahkat fi'-Hijas* (Travel in Hijaz) could bear any semblance to Mark Twain's abroad, which I never read".

The implacable attack of ar-Rafi'i is unpardonable for its insipidity. Aqqad's poetic achievements mark a special tendency as the happy combination of philosophic thoughts with ability of conjuring up pictures of fancy in fluid, sometimes musical style.

Malevolent criticism found an able exponent in Ramzi Miftah whose *Rasa'il an naqd* (Critical Letters) I have read with horror Ramzi applied a hitherto unusual method of rudely attacking Mazini and Aqqad. Denouncing Mazini with shameless literary theft, of which he had been exposed in society by Hafiz Ibrahim, he asserts, according to the Freudian theory of inhibition, that Aqqad suffering from suppressed sexual impeditions wrote ingustible verses. Personal animosity has been let loose in this kind of defamation to the detriment of literature.

Similar cruel depreciation was manifested in Zahlawi's *Udaba Mu'asiruna* (Contemporary Authors). His main target of malicious attack was Dr. Zaki Abu Shadi. I had often occasion to hear the name of Abu Shadi being defamed by ever and anon classical poems quoting Kamil al-Kilani, who was generally very benign to minor writers His harsh criticism was very disagreable to me, as Abu Shadi was my friend and I could personally witness his indefatigable to endeavour to awaken slumbering Arabic literature from antique ideals. He founded a literary review "Apollo" which already by its name betrayed that new paths had been opened for sturdy young talents. He masterly translated some of Shakespear's tragedies. The fertility of his genius is proven by the twelve volumes of poetry. His adverse critics perhaps have not even read all his products and most probably hardly understood their contents, meaning and depth. Still, there are some noteworthy exceptions like Mutran, Naji, Sha'ibi, Ibrahim Masri, Jadawi, Sayrafi, Ismail Ahmed Adham, Salih Jaudat and myself, who penned some appreciating lines of his works in my book Allah Akbar, Berlin 1938, and Sulle orme di Maomette, Millano 1938.

The style of Abu Shadi originates from various sources :

classic, romantic and realistic. His first collection of poems : *Anda al-Fajr* (Dewdrops of Sunrise) is purely classic, while his last Diwan : *Audat ar-Ra'i*/Return of the Shepherd/is classic as far as fresh wine is, in an antique bottle. Abu Shadi unhesitatingly proceeded forward and even arrived at the station of blank verse which he wielded adroitly. Mutran approved of this kind of liberty, but never put it to use, Shukri made some feeble attempts towards its. Abu Shadi boldly plied it in his *Anin wa Ranin* (Meaning and Twangs)—*Laylat al-Ams* (Yester Eve) and *Ash-Sharid* (Rambler).

Abu Shadi's proficiency is manifested in every line of literature. He felt himself in perfect harmony with nature; his descriptions exhale deep emotions which interwine with his contemplative thoughts. Inspite of adverse criticism he was one of the prominent geniuses of modern Arabic literature. Alas ! Despairing in the inimical atmosphere of his country, he emigrated to America where he died His daughter Safiya continues her father's innovations, composing brilliant blank verse.

Turning away from this implacable struggle, let us cast a glimpse on a more equitable appreciation of poetic works. Dr Taha Husain has written a series of lectures in the daily *al-Wadi* (The Valley) under the title *Hadith al-Arba'a* (Wednesday Talks) which later he also published in book-form. In this study he meted out a reasonable recognition of the merits of Shauqi and Hafiz. He analysed the propriety of the meanings the novelty and the happy choice of expressions, but he did not expatiate on the essence of any literary product, namely on the aesthetic factor and the artistic character of true poetry.

Mohammad Khalaf-Ullah was struck by the absence of the aesthetic view in Taha Husain's contemplation and expressed this opinion in his book : *Min al-Wujhat an-Nafsiya* (From the Psychical Viewpoint) saying that Taha Husain does not set forth a decisive theory in judging a work of art and his verdict solely emanates from his personal taste and predilection.

Generally,—continues our author,—Taha shows himself more equitable towards the accepted "great" poets, like Shauqi and Hafiz and is more rigorous to youthful writers like Naji Ali Taha and Mohammad Abu'l-Wafa.

Abdul Latif Saharti tried to find a golden middle way between clashing opinions. In his view Hafiz excels in his patriotic and social poems by his descriptive capability. His style is unreserved, and in most of his verses we find pulsating life and a right perception. He is not immersed in abstract thoughts or mysticism, but represents a man of experience and practical vision. This attitude has provoked many an attack, and Mahmoud Shakir accused him with adulation towards temporary "big ones" in Al-Kitab 1947 Oct. and Sayrafi reproached him in *Hafiz wa Shauqi* 1948. p. 8, for his ode to Sultan Husain Kamil who supposedly cooperated with the British, and admonished Hafiz to display more patriotism or to remain silent. The opinions and beliefs, however, change with the political horizon and critics must take cognizance of variable conditions in social life.

Taha Husain was too severe on Ibrahim Naji. His criticism on the Diwan—*Wara' al-Ghamam* (Behind the Clouds) is a kind of redtape formalism and only turns around the linguistic and grammatical reflexions, without noticing the psychic experience emerging from the stanzas He missed the novelty of mental experience in Naji's *Qalb Raqisa* (The heart of a Dancer) and declared that the verses contain platitude which surfeited the public. This harsh criticism exasperated Naji to the utmost, and he bitterly confessed to me that he never will compose poetry again. A few years afterwards I was struck by his lamentable death.

The same stern criticism has been allotted by Taha to Mahmoud Abu'l-Wafa, judging his Diwan *Anfas Muhtaraqi* (Blazing Sighs) as simple rhymed compilation, without being poems. I, on the other hand perfectly agree with Fuad Sarruf that Abu'l-Wafa's poems emanate from spontaneous sentiments and display a harmonious rhythm. His *al-Asad as-Sajin* (The Imprisioned Lion) betrays deep-rooted contemplation, and his *At Tairani* (The Two Flyers) is a comparison between the nature of birds and human beings.

Dr. Mohammed Mandur's book : *Fi'l Mizan* (On the Scales)

occupies an important place amid the critical works on Arabic Poetry. He is inclined to accept the well-trodden path of critics who laid stress on personal taste, well-trained and refined, but he acknowledges at the same time, that personal predilections vary with the experiences of the persons being. He emphasised the artistic viewpoint in the structure, combined with the enchanting musical cadence of the verses. He means a kind of spiritual whisper by it, which appeals to the heart and leaves a lasting memory.

The artistic structure—he continues—does not imply the question of similes and metaphors, which touch only the surface of the things perceived, but must be the artistic creation itself, in its inner truth behind which infinite possibilities slumber, to be selected according to the individual tastes.

Such were the viewpoints of Dr. Mandur by which he surveyed the Arabic poetry of the emigration and praised its sentimental sincerity and its tinkling musical echo.

The views of Dr. Mandur provoked violent contradictions from Sayyid Qutb, who in turn had been severely censured by the Iraqi lawyer Husain az-Zarifi. As a matter of fact Dr. Mandur salutaryly stirred up the sluggish waters of Arab criticism.

The prevalence of the personal taste in criticism has found a sturdy antagonist in Dr. Ismail Adham who in his study on the poet Khalil Mutran (Muqtataf 1939) has stressed the importance of the objective value of any piece of art. According to him Mutran elevated poetry to the level of pulsating life and conducted it from the rigidity of classicism towards fanciful romanticism. Mutran influenced the Syrian poet 'Omar Abu Risha and the poets of the emigration, notably Mikhail Mu'aima. His poetic stories are full of vivid realism too.

Literature, like every work of art, cannot hang independently in the air, unaffected from the socio-political life. Romanticism must take account of existing conditions and nolens volens is a byproduct of the existing circumstances. This fact has given rise to political lyrics and epics. Dr. Naji and Ali Mahmoud Taha deviated from pure romanticism to the field of patriotic works. Salih Jaudat and Mukhtar al-Wakil also

composed political poems, but in their verses the romantic vein is still preponderant and are restricted to local events. Mukhtar al-Wakil's Diwan: *az-Zauraqal-Halim* (The Dreaming Heat, 1939) contains some well-refined, many coloured, romantic poems like: *Ila Janib al-Midfa* (At the Fire place), and *Ghurfat az-Zikra* (The Chamber of Memories). His purely political poems like *Ya Sharq* (Oh East!), and ***Bani Nil habbu*** (Oh, Sons of the Nile, rise!), and ***Fi Maukib an-Nasr*** (In the Procession of Victory) and *Ba'q al-Harb* (After the war) seem artificial, as if they did not emanate from his inner conviction as much as his lyric stanzas did.

Among the Syrian great poets whom patriotic feeling has inspired, 'Omar Abu Risha stands in front. In his ode: *Ya Sha'b* (Oh People) he rebukes the people who wrongly select their parliamentrry representatives. In another ode *'Urs al-Majd* (The Nuptials of Glory) he reprimands the Syrian politicians who always variegate their convictions.

Another Syrian poet Qablan Mukarzil has written haranguing verses like *Hulm fi's-Sijn* (Dream in Prison) and *Saut ash-Shahid* (The voice of the Martyr). Among the poets of emigration Shafiq Ma'luf rouses the conscience of the nation to the miserable lot of the peasant, in his ***Al-Fallah***, Majalla al-'Usba, July 1947. George Saidah, the historian of the emigration, also contributed some heart-rending poems of social tenor.

The materialistic view of life is also represented in Arabic poetry. In this line some poets expressed popular tendencies, some others have gone farther and displayed general humanitarian thoughts and sentiments. We must restrict our survey on Badawi al-Jabal, the Syrian, Ra'if Khuri, the Labanese, and Mohamed Mahdi al-Jawahiri, Mahmud al-Habubi, the Iraqi poets. Among the emigrants Ilyas Qunsul may be mentioned.

Al-Hububi warned the Egyptians not to believe the promises of the foreigners, in his poem: *Ya Misr;* Jawahiri was my guest in Budapest and I had the opportunity to realise his ardent patriotism. He went a long way in reproving the social conditions of his country. He prophesied to me the approaching revolutions and counter revolutions in Iraq and I nearly happened to be a

witness to the dreadful revolt and massacre of Abdul Karim Qasim in Bagdad. Jawahiris : *'Alam al Ghadd'* (The World of Tomorrow) is like a cry from the depth of the conscience of a desperate people.

A revolutionary tone rings through the poems of other friends : the Syrian Shouqi Bagdadi by his poem about the murmur of the mines and the Iraqi Kazim as-Samawi by socialistic odes.

I lay down my pen after having given a short survey of the critical work of Abdul-Latif as-Saharti, with a yearning sigh after those happy weeks and month I spent in the company of Arab poets and writers. A new generation has arisen which proudly mentions its ancestors and tries to surpass the achievements of the noble past.

THE CONCEPT OF MAN

K. G. SAIYIDAIN

I have ventured to contribute this paper on the "Concept of Man" to the Commemoration Volume which is being presented to Dr. Zakir Husain, partly because this theme is likely to be of interest to him and partly because, in his person, I have seen many vivid glimpses of the concept as I have tried to define it. It is comparatively easy to define a concept; it is much more difficult to *live* a concept, and this is precisely what he has been trying to do during his creative and fruitful three-score-and-ten years. The story of these years will, I hope, told by other contributors to the Volume. What I wish to point out, by way of a preamble to my contribution, is that Dr. Zakir Husain has been always greater than the exalted offices that he has been called upon to hold. He has added dignity to these offices, not shone in their reflected glory. This is not meant to belittle the importance of the offices. They *are* important because they give the individuals who hold them a greater and larger opportunity to make their impact. But if there is nothing significant in the persons concerned, no matter how extensive the screen in which they are projected, there would be hardly anything worthwhile to project. When Dr. Zakir Husain was a teacher in the Jamia Millia, then a very small institution in size, he was essentially the same person—with vision and imagination, with a luminous intellect and a compassionate heart, with unusual breadth of interests and sympathies and the capacity to see life and see it whole as when he was called upon to become the Vice-Chancellor of a University or the Governor of a State or the Vice-President of India. If tomorrow he were to become the Secretary-General of the United Nations or the President of India or, alternatively, to revert to teaching in a primary school or (God forbid) open a shop to sell cigarettes, the first alternative will not add anything to his human or intellectual stature, the second alternative will not take anything away from him. He will continue to be

the 'universal' man (as I have envisaged him), creative in his thinking and behaviour, sensitive to the finest values of art, literature, science, philosophy and religion. Such persons are the salt of the earth and there is no danger in his case of the salt losing its savour. This is a tribute neither to the Vice-President, nor the Governor nor the Vice-Chancellor, nor even to the great educationist that he is, but a small tribute to the *man* whom I have had the privilege of knowing and assuming for a friend for many precious years.

II

There have been many, varied and often contradictory concepts of man, not only chronologically but also contemporaneously, and it is not possible to analyse them or sit in judgment on them in this short paper, even if I had the competence to do so. But many disturbing and interesting questions arise in my mind. Is man an accident or does he show some great design at work? Is he a creator or merely a creature entangled in the chains of *karma* or predetermination? Is he born essentially free and is everywhere in chains, as Rousseau claimed, or is he born with many chains and limitations from which he has to free himself by his own individual and cooperative efforts? Is he essentially good or essentially bad? And, remember, both claims have been made by schools of thought which we cannot possibly ignore. Is pessimism the right approach for man or optimism or, what Iqbal has called, meliorism which means the potentiality to improve continuously? Is he to find his salvation and fulfilment in becoming a passive tool of society and move towards the ideal of the 'organisation man' or does he come into his own by developing a strong and unique individuality which can, when the occasion arises, defy society and stand as one man against the world? Was Hitler right in his view of man as a tool of the State or the many men of God who looked upon him as an entity of infinite value, with a spark of the divine in him? Is he immortal or is he a candidate for immortality who *can* achieve it but may not, if he does not develop, the requisite qualities? Is man essentially a physico-chemical organism or a psycho-physical organism or a vessel which contains the Holy grail? Is he matter or spirit or a combination of both, and is this combination a 'physical' mixture or

a 'chemical' compound transcending both? Again, is man basically the communal, the racial, the geographical, the linguistic, the national man or is he the universal man or on the way to becoming one? Is diversity his characteristic quality or unity? Should he be regarded as the centre of the cosmos, as he has been fondly imagining himself, since the power of abstract thinking emerged in him, or as an infinitely small organism on an insignificant speck of dust? The earth itself has been now relegated, by modern astronomical discoveries, to the position of a second rate planet attached to a second rate sun, floating helplessly in the endless cosmos. And just as astronomy has given us a sense of geographical infinity, so has biology given us a sense of the temporal infinity of the universe. In these new dimensions, what is the real significance of this 5 to 6 ft. tall biped? Can we reasonably continue to have the flattering image of our species which has haunted our dreams and imagination—man as Nature's magnum opus, as the Lord of the universe, as the Vicegerant of God on earth, as the end of all creation? Again, which is the real Man—man who has been a literal or figurative cannibal througout history, who has carried on innumerable wars of destruction and killing of his own species, who inflicted even on his co-religionists the tortures of the Spanish Inquisition, who (in the course of history) has perpetrated inhuman cruelties on the depressed classes in India, the Negroes in America and the South African blacks, who has exterminated six million Jews with incredible sophistication of torture, who has carried out bloody purges in U.S.S.R. and China, who dropped the atom bombs in Japan and who is still thoughtlessly designing bombs of infinitely greater destructive power, with the ambition of acquiring the capacity to overkill mankind ten or twenty times over, who (even when he is not indulging in these spectacular acts of inhumanity) is content to see the bulk of his species live less than human lives without his days and nights being made hell for him, who adds treachery and deceipt to all the other cruelties which even the so-called lower animals do not do. Is this the real Man or one who preferred to drink poison rather than renounce his right to the pursuit of truth and one who renounced the kingdom of this world to preach the gospel of compassion, or one who climbed the cross with a view to establish the kingdom of God on earth, or one who spent his life, in spite of every possible discouragement and mistreatment,

teaching the gospel of human fraternity without distinction of caste, creed or colour, or one who renounced the life of a great artist to work as a doctor in the wilds of Africa or one who walked bare-footed in the villages to put out the flames of hatred and welcomed the murderer's bullet with 'Hai Ram' on smiling lips, or one who has the hardihood to go and deliberately expose himself to bombing in an area with which he has no religious or racial or geographical affinity? So many questions arise in the mind that I could exhaust all the time at my disposal and more—asking them and thus need not answer any of them.

Let me, however, try to elucidate briefly a few of these as I see them. I realize, however, that in defining what this concept *is*, there is a danger that one may also, consciously or unconsciously, define what one considers this concept ***should*** be. This is not, however, altogether an unwelcome risk. Firstly, these questions indicate that we should not try to find any glib, universal answers which will be applicable to all. Man is not this or that. Man is this as well as that and many more things than we know of. All these different types, envisaged in the rhetorical questions that I have ventured to ask, are men—the good, the bad, the indifferent, the cruel, the compassionate, the mechanical, the creative, the myopic, the visionary —representing the different facets of the species Man. We cannot ignore any of them; we cannot shut the doors of our heart to them. We have to hate and condemn the sin and the crime but—difficult as it is to say so—not the sinner and the criminal; for there, but for grace of God, go you or I! We are enjoined by all that is good and worthy in our spiritual heritage to endeavour, slowly but persistently, to move from the first category of haters and wrong doers towards the second category of men who have charity and compassion and a sense of beauty and goodness, in whom mankind finds its finest apotheosis. And we have to labour ceaselessly to create the conditions in which this miracle may be possible —not with any miraculous speed for that is a miracle which never happens. —so that slowly these qualities may begin to have an edge, in the lives of an increasing number of men and women, over cruelty, injustice, exploitation and social artistic insensitiveness. In other words, we cannot be content with Saint Joan's agonised question in Shaw's play: 'O

God, that madest this beautiful world, when will it be ready to receive the saints?' It is not God who has taken upon Himself the responsibility of making it ready for the purpose. He has—for those who believe in Him—entrusted this responsibility to Man. And for those who do not believe in God, the responsibility is still Man's whether placed on him by Nature or his own conscience. Nor one may add parenthetically, can it really be called a 'beautiful' world—in spite of all the innumerable and breath-taking beauties it has—unless it has been made fit not only to receive His saints but also to harbour its ordinary men and women and provide for them the possibility to lead peaceful, constructive and happy lives. So one may perhaps hazard the opinion that there is justification neither for pessimism on our part, which condemns everyone but ourselves, nor for that easy, effortless, comfortable optimism which does not even recognise the need for any effort on man's part to improve the world in which he is living. If the world is to be 'filled with justice and truth', as the Quranic phrase goes, he has to take an active part in the process, buoyed up with the hope that he will eventually triumph over evil and injustice, that he has made over the centuries marvellous conquests in the realm of the matter, the mind and the spirit—and has yet to make many more, that as he has been able to control the tyrannies of Nature over man, he will also be able to defeat the tyrannies of man over man which are even more obstinate and deep-rooted. These were due, at least in part, to the fact that in the past, man had to contend with his brother man ruthlessly in order to win some security for himself in an economy of persistent scarcity. And the good things of life went to him who was physically stronger or more wily and treacherous and could exploit others for his own personal or group benefit. But modern science and technology have at least opened out the possibility of ensuring an economy of plenty for all—provided, amongst other things, increase in population can be controlled. If men and nations could live without their actions being governed by a blind, snatch-and-grab policy, one great source of conflict would be removed and they *could* lead more rational, peaceful and kindly lives.

This brings into focus a controversy about the concept of man which has been with us for a long, long time. What is the *essential* nature of man's life? Is it primarily material or spiritual? If it is both, which one takes priority over the other?

The difficulty is that, if one stresses the material aspect as important, one is accused of being materialistic and insensitive to higher values. If one stresses the spiritual, one is accused of running away from reality, of not recognising the facts of life, of living in an unreal dream world. The turth is really obscured by this either-or approach. Man is the end product of a process of biological evolution which is millions of years old; he has a physical body with its creature needs and urges and, if they are not adequately satisfied, he suffers, he is frustrated, he fights and is, generally speaking, unable to appreciate the higher things which life can bring. On the other hand, if the multiplication and satisfaction of creature needs is all that matters, if he lives by bread alone in what way is he superior or more worthwhile than the innumerable other creatures who are also interested in the same thing, though their needs are more limited and their built-in devices for meeting them more perfect? To the best of our knowledge, man is the only sentient creature in the universe in whose case evolution has taken, as it were, a new mutation, equipping him with a mind which can reflect, with the power of speech which makes intelligent and intelligible communication with other men possible and with the capacity to progress indefinitely and conquer new realms of meaning and new domains of beauty. No one can explain why only on this little earth, this great miracle should have taken place while the rest of the planets and stars should, so far as we know, lie dark, uninhabited, unillumined by intelligence. I need not discuss here the great and creative role that the mind has played in his evolution, having attempted to do so in a recent book of mine,[1] but would only point out that it has given to his life vast and entirely new dimension with which we must reckon. He cannot obviously rest content with merely conquering the world of matter, but must also wrestle with the world of the spirit and grow into wisdom, charity and sense of beauty, and cultivate wide and varied interests in which his personality may find its richness and fulfilment. In the words of Percy Nunn, "this higher creative life, far from being an accident, is the clearest and purest expression of the essential characteristic of life at *all* its points and levels. All life, however humdrum, is permeated, by the self-same element whose inflorescence is literature, art, philosophy, science and religion".

1. Universities and the life of the mind.

It follows, therefore, that any concept of man which ignores or belittles these values is essentially wrong and incomplete. The conflict of views, of course, is seldom posited in terms of stark contrasts, but the difference of emphasis is often strong enough to make it almost a difference of kind. The changes, that have come in the wake of man's scientific, industries and technological progress, have tended to place increasing emphasis on material values, while those who uphold spiritual values have been driven more and more to the defensive. The political and economic supremacy of Western Europe and America, their success is moving towards an affluent society have given them a new prestige and other countries have tended or aspired to follow them. While it must be acknowledged that some of their finest minds and most sensitive spirits are deeply concerned and anxious about their existing situation, and various schools of philosophical and ethical thought contend for supremacy, it seems that a materialistic view of life and of man is actually in the ascendent. Bertrand Russell has sounded a note of alarm against this danger in unmistakable terms. "Man's true life does not consist in the business of filling his belly and clothing his body but in art and thought and love, in the creation of beauty and in the scientific understanding of the world".

It would be well to recall that, traditionally, India and the East have stood for values other than material, and their best thinkers have acknowledged their superior importance. Their weakness has often been that they have tended to ignore the misery, the squalor, the ignorance in which the masses lived and sought refuge in the ivory tower of these values and cultivated them outside their social milieu. While rectifying this mistake, it is necessary to reaffirm their primacy emphatically. I would even venture to say that there is a great deal to be said for what may be described as a tempered ascetic approach to life, provided asceticism is not for the other fellow but for oneself, where compassion for the suffering of other and effort to ease it is combined with a sense of detachment and a capacity to reject the temptations of the world so far as one's own attitude to life is concerned. Mahatma Gandhi in our own days has been the unapologetic protagonist of this view. 'In so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, so far are we going downhill in the path of progress. That you

cannot serve God and mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. Let us first seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us". And, conscious of the fact that many hard-headed realists will dismiss this as impracticable idealism, he adds: "We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness then pomp of pride and wealth, greater charity than love of self".

This is not, however, an isolated voice. It is woven not only in our historic traditions of philosophical thought but inspires the thinking of many of our best contemporary thinkers also. Let me give a few examples. Nehru, who was cast in a different ideological mould, was also keenly sensitive to this issue. "The passion for riches, for acquisition, for more and more wealth tends to create jealousies and conflicts. If the objective aimed at is social balance in a community or the world at large, prodnction by itself does not achieve it. Indeed, it tends to create greater imbalance...Too much wealth and affluence, whether in an individual or a society has also its attendant evils which are becoming evident today. The mere piling up of material riches may lead to an emptiness in the inner life of man". Iqbal, who has interpreted the teaching of Islam in this context brilliantly in his Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,[1] advocated that we should confidently say "yes" to the world of matter but never forget that primacy belongs to the spirit, that while, in the early stages of evolution, the mental is dominanted by the physical, as it grows in power, it tends to dominate the physical. This is how he elucidates his view of man and life :

"The ultimate reality, according to Quran, is spiritual and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunity in the natural, the material and the secular. All that is secular is, therefore, sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam and, as a matter of fact, to all religions, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural—a criticism

1. Oxford University Press, 1934.

which discloses that the material has no substance unless we discover it rooted in the spiritual. There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of the spirit. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it : "The whole of this earth is a mosque".

Tagore, similarly, highlighted the importance of developing the inner resources of the spirit which lie embedded in every individual, provided he does not let them become atrophied by what he called the "Thing", i.e. the blind accumulation of material goods and riches. The claim sometimes made by the eastern nations that they are superior to the west on the basis of an alleged, rootless spirituality is as untenable as the counter-claim by the West that it is superior to the East because it has better plumbing or because it can manufacture the atom bomb ! It is here and now that men and women must learn to live justly and cultivate their inner spiritual resources so as to give direction and meaning to their daily life.

Azad has pointed out, in his Presidential Address at a Unesco seminar on Humanism in East & West, that in Indian thought the point of emphasis has always been the inner experience of man and, in this search, it has ventured to penetrate below the regions of sense and intellect and 'sought to assert the identity of man with a deep hidden Reality'. According to Sufi and Vedantic thought, man is not a material entity only ; he is variously described as an 'incarnation of God', 'the highest manifestation of God's being', 'a wave of the boundless sea', 'a ray of the sun that is God', 'a movement in the being of the Eternal'

To Radhakrishnan, man is not merely a biological or economic being but also a spirit. Power and wealth, with all their arrogance, their common acceptance as the current coin and their tight hold on the minds of men, are shadows that pass ; what abides are qualities of compassion for the weak, faith in the unity of mankind, irrespective of the distinctions of race, caste, creed or colour, devotion to the ideals of peace and freedom and sensitiveness to beauty in all its forms and manifestations. According to the fundamental outlook, which has dominated the spiritual landscape of the country, "he who, by

the power of his meditation, establishes supremacy over his appetite and emotions, is greater than one who is able to win the battles of the world; in other words, self conquest is more important than conquest of countries." An Iranian poet expressed the same view in the words : "To fly in the air is no miracle, for the dirtiest of flies can do so; to cross rivers without bridges or boates is no miracle for a terrier can do the same. But to help the suffering hearts is a miracle only performed by holy men."

This discussion of the place of the material and the spiritual in the concept of man also throws some light on one of the numerous question which I raised at the outset. Man, as we see him in this mirror, is not essentially translatable in racial, geographical, communal or linguistic terms. These are certainly facts which have to be taken into account and due allowance made for them but they have a limited significance—they do not represent the ultimate reality. When we are content to define a man as a negro, or as a Hindu or a communist or Arabic-speaking, we may be referring to a facet of his personality or an accident of his birth—we are *not* encompassing him as a whole. Man, in his essence, transcends and should learn to transcend these limitations—not, indeed, in the sense of ignoring them but of being able to rise above them—and view himself as a part of the whole of mankind. " I sometimes think," mused Azad in one of his speeches, "that it was better when men and women believed implicity in the story of the Bible and thought that, whatever be the differences between nations and races, they were all the children of Adam and Eve. In the 19th century, as our knowledge increased, we started questioning these religious legends. Instead of believing in descent from common parents, we started to divide mankind into Caucasians and Mongolians, into Aryans and Semetics and into further subdivisions within each larger division. I do not know if the story of Adam and Eve is *literally* true, but I have no doubt that it is true in essence; it is a recognition of the fundamental truth that the human race is one in origin and hence all men are akin to one another." Such divisions are actually methods of classification, distinctions of convenience. In the words of the Prophet of Islam "The whole of mankind is the family of God" and, according to the Quran, "We divided you into tribes and classes so that you may be known."

But the *means* have often been confused by short-sighted man with *ends*, and he has learnt to view himself as irrevocably divided into narrow categories. He looked upon his fellow men and women as 'competitors or rivals or obstacles to his own advance', and not as 'co-hairs of the grace of life, as fellow members of (a common) spiritual household'[8]. This has always been a moral and social tragedy and a denial of his true nature. But in this one world of today, it is a danger and disaster of unimaginable magnitude. We must either gradually reduce it and eventually eliminate it or, with the atomic threat hanging over our head, there may not even be persons left to carry on this Great Debate; Mankind can realize this unity only by developing a world perspective in which the ideas and ideals of different civilization and culture are properly assessed and harmonized and treated with objectivity and without prejudice.

I have so far referred mainly to two important elements that enter into the concept of man—the relationship of the material and the spiritual in him and his universality rather than division into categories. But its most distinguishing characteristic, as I see it, which marks him out from other creatures sharply is his *creativity*. He is referred to in the scriptures as 'made in the image of God'—if so, it must be in the image of God, the creator. It is interesting to note that most of the non-human creatures are superior to man either in size of strength or speed or endurance or the capacity to defend themselves and to find their food and build their nests or other habitations by instinct. If the Creator had not conferred on man the gift of potential creativity, he could hardly have competed against them with any measure of success. He has, therefore, to cherish and cultivate this gift with great care and use it to offset all the disadvantages from which hes uffers and, to the extent that he has been able to do so, he has scored over them and achieved his greatest triumphs. They are great, indeed, though uneven in different fields. But compared to what he can and has still to do, they are not more than the portion of a glacier visible above the waters. In his inmost being, man is a creative activity shaping his destiny and that of the world in which he lives, sometimes moulding them to his own purposes, sometimes adjusting himself to its forces. But he is creative also in the deeper sense; he is not helplessly imprison-

ed in this world which surrounds him. When he is thwarted by its forces, he has the capacity to build a much vaster world in the depth of his own being, wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration. In the words of Iqbal, "Hard his lot and frail his being like a rose leaf, yet no form of reality is so powerful, so inspiring and so beautiful as the spirit of man". This is the world of art and letters, music and painting, philosophy and science in which his mind and heart, the sources of his creativity, find their highest expression and fulfilment. He does not—or should not—indeed create it in order to find an alternative world in which he may take refuge from this vale of sorrows but with the object of transforming it into a worthy habitation for himself and his fellow men. All the material riches, the power, the knowledge that he has acquired are not the end but, at best, the starting point of his great spiritual quest. At their worst, they can kill that quest by diverting his attention and loyalties to lesser objectives.

Not only does man play a creative role in this world but the world itself is in a process of 'becoming'—it is an 'expanding world' as James Jeans and many other distinguished scientists are beginning to interpret it. And this goes on sharpening and re-defining the challenges which man's mind has to face. "To my mind", Iqbal points out, "there is nothing more alien to the Quranic world than the idea that the universe is the temporal working out of a preconceived plan. The universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a *growing* universe and *not* an already completed product which left the hands of its Maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and consequently is nothing". If, on the other hand, it were regarded as 'a process realizing a preordained goal, there would be no room in it for free responsible moral agents'. It would be but 'a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of pull from without'. No, man's creative mind is perpetually active—sometimes constructively, sometimes destructively and, in the picturesque words of Whitehead, 'our minds build cathedrals before the workmen have moved a stone and our minds destroy them before the elements have worn out their arches'. Modern men must, therefore, learn to prepare himself for a world of 'plural possibilities' where he has not only to make right choices but also to train his mind and creative

intelligence in such a way that he may be able to tackle new jobs and meet the challenge of new problems both in the world of thought and action. This has always been, in a way, man's responsibility, but in the past it was often performad by a very small minority, while the majority was chained to the tread-mill of earning a scanty living and unable to play a creative role, Now, in spite of the fact that there are many contrary forces that one must recognise, the challenge comes to all of us, and refusal to face it is refusal to recognize man's freedom and dignity.

There is a tendency in the present age to belittle the role and importance of the creative individual and to submerge him in the mass. This is partly a bye-product of the industrial and technological revolutions, of the emergence of the big businesses and of the impact on society of totalitarianism, capitalism and socialism, though their protagonists may not admit it. This view of the role of the individual in society is both wrong and immoral The individual *is* frightfully important—nothing either good or bad can really enter the world except through his free activities. The mass can never compensate for the quality and uniqueness that belongs to him. Man has become, to a considerable extent, the director of his own evolutionary process, which is now social and cultural rather than biological, and this poses problems that only a creative mind can deal with intelligently. Such minds are needed not merely to solve academic, intellectual and scientific problems through research—that is obvious enough—but, even more so, the new and challenging problems that are arising in the field of social and political relationships, in the domain of ethics and morality which are even more exacting. Sometimes a single, creative individual can make a greater impact on the life of his country or his age than millions of mediocrities put together To take two entirely different kinds of examples—an Einstein or a Gandhi has really far greater ultimate significance for the human race than any number of good, decent, socially worthy but humdrum individuals. One important function of such unique individual is to act as dissenters against society when the occasion demands it, for that is the only way in which we can reappraise and re-assess the values by which society gets used to living without rasing any questions. They must do so with supreme concern for what they consider to be

the truth and supreme unconcern for everything that comes in the way.

And yet the creative individual cannot flourish in isolation. The individual and the society are both involved in the process The 'potentially creative' minority in a society can never become an effective one, unless its spiritual and intellectual climate is favourable to its growth and the people have the vision, the good sense and the tolerance to welcome and appreciate such persons. I know that there are geniuses whom nothing can repress, but they must be regarded as exceptions. We have no idea of how much of first class talent is killed by indifference or by the failure to provide the conditions in which it can freely develop. Freedom itself is the first and foremost of these conditions, for creativity cannot move along predetermined grooves. In fact, it is creativity just because it rejects them and blazes its own new and unexpected trail. Arnold Toynbee has pointed out two obstacles which hinder its development. First, 'the ultra—egalitarianism of democracy' which looks askance at any unusual evidence of talent and considers encouragement of meritocracy as a kind of at least minor crime against it —as if democracy meant 'the equal assessment of unequal merit'. In such a society 'toleration is the alluring reward of poor spirited conformity'. So, many highly promising children and youth, gifted with genius, who are unable to face expressed or unexpressed hostile public opinion, choose the path of least resistance and let their talents wither. This has been happening not only in our country and other educationally backward countries but even in many advanced countries of western Europe and America. The other hindrance is the deep-rooted conservatism in many societies which is averse to change and wishes to maintain the status quo, largely in favour of vested interests Creativity, on the other hand, is a factor of change; it upsets the established order in answer to new challenges. It is opposed by some because it threatens their undeserved, unearnt privivileges and by others because they have lost the strength and the courage to face new situations. If we really value creativity we have to cultivate, in our educational and social institutions, a respect for it and a receptive attitude to the changes that it may bring. This does not mean an *acceptance* of every change that it may precipitate but a respect for creative minds, an

openness of attitude and a readiness to assess and assimilate change if it is likely to be beneficial. A tame acceptance of what is as right and a fear of the unknown are serious impediments in the way not only of man's progress but of his fulfilment and self-realization. His creative role in the world is defined perceptively in a small poem by Iqbal in which the voice of God addresses man in these words.

"Art thou alive? Be eager, be creative.
Like Us, take the universe in thy grasp.
Shatter into bits what is uncongenial
And build a new world out of the depths of thy being.
The free man finds it irksome to live
In a world of others' fashioning.
He who has not the power to create
In nought but an agnostic and unbeliever in Our eyes."

A novel definition of the agnostic and unbeliever in terms which are not narrowly religious but measure the worth of man in terms of his creativity.

Such creative mind is deeply and passionately involved in his work and finds true satisfaction and joy in it. His source of happiness is within himself; he does not depend for it passively on external stimuli and mass media which often tend to kill creativity. He may enjoy them occasionally as a diversion when they take the place of active creation, it lowers the whole quality of life. He then becomes increasingly incapable of facing solitude, of being with himself. Confucius is said to have remarked that most evils arise in the world because man ,is afraid to be alone with himself in his own room'. T.S. Eliot stressed this point in his own way by saying "Man is not himself unless he is a member (of society) and he cannot be a member unless he is also something more. His membership and solitude must be taken together. There are moments, perhaps not known to everyone, when a man may be nearly crushed by the terrible awareness of his isolation from every other human being; and I pity him if he finds himself alone with himself and his meanness and futility alone without God". A creative individual must, therefore, keep his relationship alive both with society and solitude, finding his scope for service in the former and discovering his

inner spiritual resources in the latter.

It has been man's great tragedy as well as challenge th while his promise and potentialities are limitless, his achiev ment so far has been far shorter of his goal—he holds, as were, a goblet full to the brim in a palsied hand. The pal may be physical or spiritual but it is the latter that is mo dangerous. Man can achieve his destiny if he continues pr gressively not only to perfect his tools but also to refine an define his purposes more perceptively and more comprehensiv ly. In the great progress that he has made in the last hundre years, the emphasis has been on the former, *not* on the latte The power that has come to him in such ample measu through the conquest of the world of matter has been applie only in a modest measure to fight against the age-old depriv tions from which men suffer and to achieve beneficent soci aims and purposes which would humanize and dignify lif It has been used much more to increase material productio or to perfect the instruments of self-destruction. Power b itself is a dangerous gift—whether it is political power c technological power—unless it is wedded to vision and ded cated to the improvement of the condition of man. It is reall the illumination of the end which ennobles the means, thoug it is also true that unless the means adopted are pure, th purity of ends cannot be preserved. Man cannot realize h infinite promise and achieve his destiny, unless to h creativity and his social sensitiveness are given the best possib conditions for development. I repeat this 'destiny' is by n means a pre-determined destiny but a *possible* destiny. An the possible cannot be translated into the actual withou persistent and dedicated effort and a resolute will to figl against the forces which pull him downwards and which a also, to some extent, an integral part of his native equipmen The Semitic religions regard 'angels' as being *incapable* wrong doing, but man is adjudged to be superior to them b cause he has been given the perilous freedom to do eith right or wrong:

'We have shown him the path; he can now either accept thankfully or deny it'.

In other words, the right of free choice makes life's burde

earder as well as more challenging. It is only through the gı daul transformation and sublimation of his lower instincts aı impulses—*not* their suppression and denial—that he can a vance towards his ideal self The modern tendency to emph size the importance—as, for instance, by some psycho-an lysts—of what I have ventured to call his 'lower self' is goı if it does not result in our accepting is as inevitable or ıncuı ble but as a *fact* of life with which we must reckon. It is protection against the easy optimism from which many goo intentioned persons suffer. It is bad, if it induces the bel that nothing can, and therefore need, be done about it, th it is as integral and permanent part of man as his 'higher se and that man's business is only to try and *understand* hum nature and "to understand all is to forgive all". I venture suggest that man's adventurous journey throughout history h been in search of greater beauty, greater goodness, grea truth, greater creativity, greater justice and a better harmoniz tion of these, both in individual and collective life Tl is not to belittle the injustice, the cruelty, the exploitation man by man that has characterized his historic development. is really an attempt to see man in the right focuss and to d tinguish between what is of permanent value and what rep sents vestiges of long, unhappy past and a de-educat environment which, one hopes, may disappear in course time. Jawaharlal Nehru summed up, in one of his speech his fine testament of faith:

"I see in this past the long struggle of Man against adve surroundings. I see his repeated martyrdom and crucifixı but I also see the spirit of man rising again and again a triumphing over every adversity. We may be a speck of d on a soap bubble universe but that speck of dust contaır something that was the mind and spirit of man. More wı derful than the earth and heavens is this spirit of man wh grows ever mightier and seeks fresh worlds to conquer.. spite of innumerable failings, man throughout the ages l sacrificed his life and all he held dear for an ideal for tru for faith, for country, for honour. That ideal may change l that capacity for self-sacrifice continues, and because of tl much may be forgiven to man and it is impossible to lose hc for him. In the midst of disaster he has not lost his dign or his faith in the values he cherished."

He knows that the future is dark and uncertain and yet h optimism cannot be defeated. "We can see part of the wa leading to it and can tread it with firm steps, remembering thε nothing that can happen is likely to overcome the spirit of ma which has survived so many perils. Remembering also tha life for all its ills has joys and beauty, and we can always war der, if we know how to, in the enchanted woods of natur(

"What else is wisdom? What of man's endeavour
Or God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
To stand from fear set free to breathe and wait;
To hold a hand uplifted over Hate:
And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?"

When this happens, when some objectives outside beyon and greater than the individual's own self challenge and captur his whole-hearted loyalty and imagination, when his life urge express themselves in many worthy and impersonal interest: man's small and isolated self becomes part of the great strear of life. The man ceases to feel timid or insignificant becaus he knows that something of his own will abide long after hi own candle has gone out—in the good that he has done, i the creative thinking of the world which he has advanced o the contribution that he has made to art or literature o culture, intellect or beauty. Then this rivulet becomes part o science or other manifestation of the ocean, this mortal put on the mantle of immortality and death ceases to have an terror for him. This is the concept of man which I ventur hesitantly to place before you—of man the proud, th courageous, the compassionate, who will not lay down hi arms before the cosmic forces of destruction and death bu continue to light his candle though darkness may encompas the world; of man as mirrored in the stirring words of Russell

"Brief and powerless is Man's life; on him and all his rac the slow, sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to goo(and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on it relentless way; for Man, condemned today to lose his dearest tomorrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it re mains only to cherish, are yet the blow falls, the lofty thought that ennoble his little day; disdaining the coward terrors of th slave of Fate, to worship at the shrine that his own hands hav

built; undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life; proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate, for a moment, his knowledge and his condemnation, to sustain alone, a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power".

THE CRISIS OF THE INDIAN SOUL

ABID HUSAIN

I do not think it is possible for me to produce anything that, from the point of view of literary excellence, could be presented on the happy occasion of his seventy-first birthday to Zakir Sahib for whom my sentiments of reverence, and affection are beyond anything I could express in words. So I decided to write simply and directly what I have been feeling in the depth of my mind about the moral and spiritual situations in India to-day. I hope the matter, regardless of the manner in which it has been discussed, is significant enough to deserve some attention.

The year 1966 was a year of storm and stress in India. The whole country was in the grip of a strange unrest. Workers in factories (both in the public and the private sectors), student and teachers in colleges and schools, political and religious leaders and their followers were not only staging protests, demonstrations, strikes or fasts to draw the attention of the relevant authorities to their grievances, but were resorting to open violence in order to compel them to yield to their demands. People in authority were so deeply involved in their own personal or group rivalries and internecine struggles for power that they had no time to understand the motives behind these outbursts of unrest and to deal with them patiently and judiciously. They would generally ignore them until unrest grew into upheaval, then try to suppress them with force, and in case of stiff resistance would abjectty surrender. This would naturally give further encouragement to the turbulent elements and make confusion worse confounded. Since the beginning of 1967, things have, in some respects, even worsened

To casual observers it would appear that our social organism has contracted some new, mysterious, fatal disease. But those who have carefully studied our social and cultural

situation, know that the disease though fatal enough is neither
so mysterious nor so new. It is a chronic distemper which has
been endemic in our society for centuries and breaks out from
ime to time. Since 1966 it suddenly took a violent epidemic
'orm and posed a threat not only to our political and economic
stability but to our very existence as a nation. So the question
what our new malady is, why its symptoms have become so
ggravated and how it can be cured is not merely academic
out vital and urgent.

First of all we should observe that this turbulence and
urmoil that our country has been passing through, is not an
bsolute evil. In a way it is good and we should welcome it.
t is a sure sign that the death-like pall of fear that lay over
he minds of our people during the long years of subjection,
as now been blown away by the fresh and invigorating wind
f freedom. They do not now put up with what they consider
o be tyranny or injustice, but are up in arms to resist it.

Still widespread and continuous unrest is or should be a
natter of grave concern, and the fact that it expresses itself not
n the form of organized protest, but in that of irresponsible
iolent action, has made it all the more dangerous. So we
ave to give the most careful consideration to these two points -

Why is the present unrest so widespread? Why could it so
asily take a violent turn in so many cases?

Nobody can deny that the main cause of the unrest was
ne scarcity and excessive dearness of the necessities of life,
pecially of food. It had brought down millions of people,
ho were already living on a low economic level, to the level
f destitution and semi-starvation. That this should have
used unrest among the people was quite natural. Still it
emed to be something strange that the gentle and patient
ople of India, accustomed for many centuries to bear during
ars of famine, semi-starvation, and for short periods even
mplete starvation without complaining, should suddenly
come so desperate as to resort to violent action. The ex-
anation is that in the first place the change did *not* come all of
sudden. Long years of hardship caused by the ever-increas-

ing prices, without a corresponding rise in income, gradually wore out their patience and self-control and drove them to desperation. Secondly, the exemplary patience and self-control of the Indian people was based on the traditional belief that all calamities, specially drought and famine, were sent by God to try His creatures, and true to Him were those who stood the trial without flinching. But now the political education that they got by listening to arguments of the various political parties and their criticisms of one another, specially during the elections, have made them realize that the calamities they have to face are not acts of God pure and simple, but are to a considerable extent, caused by the mistaken policies of administrators or politicians This created in the minds of the people a spark of resentment which was fanned by the opposition parties until it burst into a flame of wrath against the ruling party and was sometimes turned into a raging fire by adding to the fuel of the real political and economic grievances, the powerful explosive of imaginary religious grievances. The major part in bringing about this state of things was, no doubt, played by the opposition parties. But the role that the ruling party itself played in this deplorable drama, was by no means insignificant. It had solemnly promised the Indian people that it will develop an industrialist and socialist pattern of society—that is, through planned industrial progress, it will increase the production of wealth in a balanced way, and through its equitable distribution will decrease the wide gap between the rich and the poor. But after a short time, people began vaguely to feel and in this last year of the plan they clearly saw that the way the country was going could not lead to the promised land. Production has no doubt increased but not in a balanced way. For instance, the production of food has not kept pace with the increasing population. Moreover, even among industrial goods, many things that were urgently needed, such as house-building material were not produced in sufficient quantities, with the result that their prices rose and hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering pushed them further up. On the other hand, opportunities for work lagged far behind the alarming increase in population so that the problem of unemployment, specially among the middle and lower middle classes, became even more acute, and as the unemployed and the underemployed had to face the rising prices, they were brought down to the level of pauperism. At the same time

most of the industrialists and businessman were full of wealth sometimes legitimately but often illegitimately acquired. The slogan was raised by discontented elements that the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer. To top all this, two years of severe drought made the food situation worse and millions of people were reduced to a state of semi-starvation. When people looked at the glaring gap between promises and their fulfilment, their anger was beyond control and began to express itself in violent action under various pretexts.

It can be said and has been said that in the first years of planned progress, the scarcity and dearness of consumer goods is unavoidable. Socialist countries have had to pass through this phase and their people have suffered the hardships that the Indians are suffering today and yet there was no such general unrest and clamour there. But those who are pleased to make this criticism, forget that for one thing, in the socialist countries the periods of trial and distress were not so long as here, and for another, the people in those countries were not only consoled but filled with a new courage and determination by the fact that the hardship were shared and the burden shouldered by the whole people without any exception. But in the Indian situation, what is most embittering is that on the one hand, millions of people are living in a state of extreme indigence and on the other hand, some are amassing wealth either illegally or by such means, as are legally permissible but morally most reprehensible, and living lives of luxury that mock at the pitiable condition of the poorer classes. Besides, it is by no means true that in socialist countries there were no protests or riots during the period of economic distress. As a matter of fact, there were serious disturbances in the beginning but they were ruthlessely crushed by the dictatorial governments. A democratic government such as we have in India, strictly committed to the rule of law, cannot resort to such repression. This has made the problem all the more difficult.

What has been said so far gives us some idea of why the unrest in the minds of people of India is so widespread. But we have still to see why the unrest tends to express itself in violence while there are, in a democratic set-up, ways of giving expression to it in peaceful and more effective ways. It is said

that violent demonstrations were not spontaneous but were worked up by opposition parties to embarrass the ruling party and to create an atmosphere of hostility to it in the pre-election year. This is, on the whole, true, yet the question remains why the opposition parties, instead of using all the emotional and moral ferment that had been created in the popular mind, to change the government in a constitutional way wasted most of it inciting the people to irresponsible acts of hooliganism.

Apparently there are two reasons for this deplorable lack of discipline: one rooted in our past history and the other in the present situation. The first reason is that the people of India, who had been subject through time immemorial to autocratic indigenous rule and for the last two hundred years to semi-autocratic foreign government, have only recently got their freedom, and the long-suppressed instinct of individual self-expression naturally tends to burst out with a fury hard to control. Undisciplined egos are clashing with each other in the conflicts of political parties, of religious, linguistic regional communities and of factions or individuals within each party or community, and such clashes are necessarily violent. The other reason is that owing to constant tug-of-war between the factions in the ruling party, the administration in a number of states tends to become both lax and weak. The governments in those states cannot deal properly with such outbursts of violence as frequently occured last year. When trouble is brewing they look on as if it does not concern them. The dissident group in the ruling party fans the smouldering fire until it flares up. Then Authority wakes up and threatens the turbulent elements with dire consequences if they do not unconditionally give up their agitation, and when that fails plays at putting them down by force. But the agitators know very well that the governments, riven into factions, has not the guts to go through the strong policy that it proclaims. Specially in the pre-election year it completely loses its nerve. So sometimes the leaders of the unrest exploit the situation and increase the tempo and the intensity of their agitation so that, sometimes, their followers get out of their control and indulge in acts of violence. In many cases the government or other authorities allow themselves to be intimidated and accede to the legitimate or illegitimate demands of the agitators. Afraid of losing votes in the coming elections they

try to placate a comparatively small number of trouble-shooters, thereby offending the moral sensibility of a far larger number of peaceful citizens and thus, in the end, lose more votes than they gain

But the lack of dicipline and the tendency to resort to violence which we find in the people today, though most deplorable, are by no means the worst symptoms of the real disease. They are merely passing distempers that inevitably appear during the transition from subjection to freedom, from authoritarian rule to democracy, especially in educationally backward countries and are aggravated during the periods of economic recession. Fortunately they are automatically cured when the democratic system is firmly established. Freedom which is an intoxicant as well as a tonic, first acts as an inebriant and leads people to irresponsible behaviour, but by and by, it develops into a moral tonic and creates in the people self-confidence, sense of responsibility and discipline. One may hope that in India the negative phase of freedom will one day come to an end and we shall enter the positive. In fact there are some indications that it may happen in not so distant future. The fourth Central Elections have shown that people of India have warned their politicians that things will no longer be allowed to drift as they have been doing during the last few years. The day will come when the real rulers, that is the people themselves, will exercise strict vigilance over the working of the governments in the states and at the centre, and force them, not by destructive agitation but by constructive criticism, to overhaul planning and administration in such a way that the utmost emphasis is laid on reducing unemployment, taking other immediate and effective steps to relieve the crushing poverty of the people and on putting down with a heavy hand corruption, black-marketing and profiteering. If any government fails to do so, it will be driven out of office not by agitational but by constitutional means. As soon as this healthy relationship is established between the government and the people, the political causes of their undisciplned and violent behaviour will disappear.

But the most deplorable and dangerous aspect of the present crisis is neither that there is so much agitation-mongering, nor that agitations readily degenerate into riots, but the fact

that agitation and riots are staged, not with any broad or high purpose in view, but simply to achieve petty, narrow, low objectives and are motivated by religious, linguistic or regional communalism; in other words by some form of group egoism and sometimes even by sheer personal egoism. This is the most important symptom pointing to the real disease. Our real malady is that we have ceased to believe in any universal purpose that is always marked by consistence and harmony but have become involved in the pursuit of petty purposes that by their very nature contradict one another and lead to a perpetual conflict not only among the various sections of society but in the innermost recesses of the mind of each individual in society, as well as in the collective mind. Our crisis is the crisis of the Indian soul.

Here the word "soul" is not used in any mystical or metaphysical sense. It refers to the highest faculty of the mind that raises us above the level of animal existence to that of human life where we are no longer completely absorbed in the pursuit of material values but devote some of our time and energy to those higher values that make life rich, harmonious and meaningful. Of these the fundamental value, the sources of all other values, is belief and faith in a world purpose that one could make the ultimate object of ones's loyalty, the supreme guide for one's thought and action.

By the crisis of the Indian soul we mean a situation in which the religious and intellectual classes in India who could be called the repositories of the Indian soul, do not have that strong belief in, and loyalty to a world purpose which could free them from the iron grip of egoism and moral relativism and provide them with harmonious and a universal standard of moral judgment. So their loyalties have attached them to their individual egos and group egos and their selfish moral standards are in conflict with one another. It is this conflict that expressss itself in the unrest and disorder that we see in the country today.

Among the various forms of group egoism that claim the loyalties of our people today, the most prominent are nepotism and casteism. Nepotism is the corrupted form of one of the finest traits of traditional Indian culture—a strong family-feeling.

Like all old cultures, the Indian culture also had the traditi that not only the nearest relatives but even the most dista ones should be treated with affection and should, by all legi mate means, be helped to get on in life. But when mo degeneration sets in, the distinction between legitimate a illegitimate was overlooked and every favour was shown undeserving relatives in matters like admissions to educatior intitutions or recruitment to services, even at the cost of t most deserving ones. Casteism is merely the extensi of the family feeling beyond the family to the wh(clan. The caste system is an institution peculiar to c country. It developed here because in ancient Indian t immigrant Aryans, stronger and more warlike than the abc ginal tribes, did not, as other conquering races used to do those days, kill off or drive out the conquered people t absorbed them in their social order though they gave th(a lower status. As inter-marriage between the higher and t lower social strata was forbidden, the classes ossified into cast During the struggle for freedom the egalitarian teachings Mahatma Gandhi and the liberal influence of modern democ tic ideas, shook the whole structure of the caste system anc looked as if it was going to collapse. But after independer the introduction of adult franchise was exploited by unscru] lous politicians with little moral or intellectual worth recommend them to the electorate, to win votes by appeal to the selfish feeling and interests of the members of th respective castes. This has not only given a new lease of] to the caste system but a stronger hold on the mind of people. Some observers go so far as to say that loyalty caste has now usurped the place of loyalty to the country.

Casteism had so completely dominated the Indian mi for centuries that apart from the Hindus, the Muslims India, whose religion had completely done away with t distinctions of race or colour, had also come under its w. Not only did the Hindu converts to Islam stick to their (caste distinctions but even the oldest Muslim families, w had come from Islamic countries, were divided into the rac castes of Syeds, Sheikhs. Moghul and Pathans and the occu] tional castes of weavers, butchers, etc. Though among t Muslims caste-feeling is not half so strong as among the Hind yet it is strong enough to have almost erased from their mir

the Islamic ideal of the universal brotherhood of man.

Next to Casteism, the prevailing forms of group-egoism are linguistic communalism and regional communalism. The ties of a common language or a common domicile do not, on the whole, bind people so strongly together as the caste ties, but in politics they are now becoming more powerful and more dangerous. The danger lies in the fact that while the consciousness of casteism being a moral evil has been created in the minds of the educated classes and the movements of religious reforms are also working against it, the influence of linguistic and regional communalism has permeated the educated classes no less than, or even more than, the masses and has in some cases turned into the worst forms of fanaticism. Even those who consider these forms of communalism to be reprehensible do not, with the exception of a few outstanding political or intellectual leaders, have the courage to condemn them openly. On the contrary they make a show of appreciating and encouraging them. If we look at the text-books prescribed in the government schools and private schools in the various linguistic states, that in each area, the distinctness and superiority of the language and culture of the particular area is so deeply impressed upon the minds of the children that it is hardly possible to create in their minds a sense of national unity to say nothing of the feeling of the unity of all mankind. If these communalistic trends go on increasing at the present rate, it is to be feared that the political unity of the country achieved by the great endeavour and sacrifice of millions of the people in all parts of India, will be shattered and not only the freedom but the very existence of the country, broken into pieces, will be exposed to the greatest danger.

But the most intense and vigorous form of group egoism is religious communalism. It is a strange and highly explosive mixture of religious prejudice and political self-interest that exists to a greater or lesser extent in the minds of many of our countrymen in a latent form, and at the silghtest provocation bursts into flames of anger and hatred. It seems for the moment that reason, culture, humanity and morality are completely paralysed in the minds of men and they are reduced to the condition of wild beasts that snarl and bark and bite and end by tearing one another into pieces. Religious

communalism is based on the distorted concept of religi(that one particular community is in exclusive possession of t' truth and none of the others has even the least share in it; a1 as social and cultural life is no more than a function religious belief the social and cultural systems of that particul community are perfect and those of all other communities a defective. So it has an indisputable right to impose its cultu1 if not its religion, on others for the good of their own sou and incidentally for keeping them in a state of political a economic sub-ordination. Obviously, this way of thinking detrimental, not only to national unity and the unity of ma kind, but also to modern trends of freedom and enlightenme It regards the scientific attitude of mind and the democra system of government as inimical to religion and shows distin symptoms of obscurantism and fascism. The communali: of the majority community and to a lesser degree that of t minority communities, is a great potential danger, not only the unity and integrity of India, but to its very existence as free, secular, democratic and enlightened country. The form is in an active way and the former in a passive way a tremendc destructive force. The communal elements in the Hin majority are, on the one side, trying in the name of Hin culture to repress the common Hindustani culture evolved the course of centuries by the joint efforts of Hindu a Muslim saints and seers and artists and poets, and on t other side, in the name of Hindi culture to cast non-Hi cultures in the mould of a uniform cultural pattern desigr by themselves so that the whole country becomes a sol monolithic nation. Obviously it cannot succeed in its purp(by democratic means. So it will have to resort to fasc methods and come into clash with the various religious a linguistic political organizations leading eventually to viol(conflicts, even to civil war. As for the communalism of t minorities that wants to turn them into separatist political cultural groups, though it does not have the strength to ta the initiative in provoking major violent clashes, it can no less harm by keeping the minority groups that are spre like the nervous system all over the body politic, aloof fr(the national effort for reconstruction and development a thus paralyze it at least partially.

As the movements of religious communalism believe tl

they have Divine sanction for their policies, they have developed a strong sense of self-righteousness and lost all capacity for self criticism. But the most amazing thing about religious communalism is that the very same qualities of bigotry, narrow-mindedness and obscurantism that a particular religious group finds evil and reprehensible in others, appear to it to be perfectly good and praise-worthy in itself. Each religious communalist movement is confronted with its ugly and revolting face reflected in that of its rivals, but fails to recognize it as its own true image. The danger to the integrity, freedom and progress of the country from these forms of group egoism that lead men to consider loyalty to caste, language, religion, or sect more important than allegiance to the country or to humanity, is obvious to all sensible people. But what is not so clearly seen by them is the far greater danger, that these egoistic trends can do irreparable damage to our moral ideals and moral life. Every form of communalism has an innate tendency to make people disregard all principles of justice and fair play in showing undue favour to members of their own group of community. Surely such discrimination does the most brutal violence to the universality of the Moral Law and leads to the worst kind of ethical relativism. Our standard of right and wrong then becomes that everything that is advantageous to our own community is good though it may be disastrous for the country or the world as a whole, and all that is harmful to our own limited group is bad though it may be in the larger interest of the nation or of all mankind. From this group-selfishness it is only one short step to individual selfishness. Once we start distorting the Moral Law to suit the interest of our community we shall be soon doing it to suit our own personal interest.

These group egoisms, these moral sophistries have a very strong hold over us. They have at their back the traditions of ages. It is not so easy to free ourselves from their iron grip. Even those of us who consider them to be wrong and strongly condemn them if they are practised by other communities, are apt to justify them in one way or other, or at least to condone them if the culprits are members of our own community. So much so that sometimes persons who would never dream of doing anything mean or dishonest themselves are forced by the sentiment of "muruwat" for our family, caste, linguistic,

regional or religious community to try to protect dishones people, criminals even murderers. "Muruwat" is a nationa characteristic of the people of India that is hardly to be foun in any other people—at least to the same extent. It is ai Arabic word that orginally meant something like "chivalry" But in the Hindustani language it is used in a sense that canno be expressed in a single word or phrase in English or for th matter of that in any other language. It is that quality in u that keeps us from hurting the feeling of a fellow-being at an time under any circumstances. It impels us to comply, or a least promise to comply, with every legitimate or illegitimat desire of anybody with whom we come into contact, to agre with everything he says and praise everything he does whethe we like it or not, to overlook every lapse or crime on his par and come to his rescue if others blame him or want to punis him for his misdeed. This spineless benevolence is considere to be one of the greatest virtues in our conventional moralit and any one who lacks it is regarded as a bad specimen of th human race. Still if we fail to observe "muruwat" with a outsider we may be excused or even applauded. But if we fai to observe it with one of our own people, a member of our ow family, or caste, or linguistic, regional or religious group ther God help us! The wrath of the community would descend on u as persons guilty of the worst social crime that one coul conceive of.

These spiritual maladies have gone so deep into our bein and have linked themselves up with so powerful sentiments c personal or family pride, of group loyalty and sometimes wit that of religious piety that they cannot be cured simply by mora homilies in which our leaders occasionally like to indulge There is only one cure—a spiritual regeneration, a reviva of true, unshakeable faith in a world purpose, and a moral la that regards universal love and brotherhood of man as one o its fundamental principles. Nothing but such a faith can kindl in our breast the sacred fire that will burn to ashes all person and group egoism like hemps of rubbish.

So the question that we have to consider now is this. D our people have faith in such a world purpose, and if they hav what sort of faith it could be that was unable to overcome thei personal and group selfishness and to create in them th

broader sentiment of national sympathy and universal human sympathy?

A view of the thought and belief of the people of India at the present moment, reveals that we can find among the various sections of the people, all the four types of belief in a world purpose that the human mind has conceived or the human soul experienced so far, namely, Naturalism, Monism, Theism and Humanism. Naturalism, in the higher philosophical form of Dialectical Materialism, is the creed of our Communist intellectuals who believe in the fundamental theoretical principles of Marxism. Monism in the form of Vedantism, is professed by many educated Hindus and in the form of the Sufi doctrine of *wahdat-ul-wujud* by many mystically-minded Muslims. Theism is the faith of almost all Muslims and some sects and many individual among the non-Muslims. Humanism in its two varieties—Religious Humanism and Secular Humanism, is represented by a large number of individuals in all communities. What we have to examine now is how much depth and sincerity there is in the faith of these believers in the various forms of world purpose and how it expresses itself in their conduct in life.

Naturalism in its primitive forms has existed in India from time immemorial. It is now confined mainly to some forest tribes and hill tribes in the various parts of the country. But here we are not concerned with them as we are discussing only the belief and conduct of the educated classes. So we have to mention only the most advanced stage of Naturalism namely the Marxist philosophy that lays down that Nature, through its laws of Dialectical Materialism, determines the history and destiny of men. The application of these laws to social life, leads to the conclusion that the class war between labour and capital will lead to a classless society in which all men are equal, everybody enjoys the fruits of his labour and no one exploits others. In other words, class war is the means by which the object of a classless society can be achieved. On this all who believe in Marxism agree. But they are divided into two groups or factions that strongly differ about the inevitability of class war. According to the former class war is not an absolute necessity. The goal of an egalitarian society can

under the present circumstances, be reached if socialist coun tries and capitalist countries co-exist peacefully because th former are bound to prevail over the latter through sheer mora superiority. The other faction is absolutely sure that socialis and capitalist countries cannot possibly live together. Wa between them cannot and should not be avoided under an circumstance. In India today, the factions called rightist an leftist Communists are almost evenly balanced. The former seen to be anxious to settle their dispute with the latter amicably But the leftists are not prepared to do so, because that woul be going against the course of Nature and History and thu immoral as well as futile. It is to be feared that the tensio between them will increase and one more conflict will be adde to the many that are threatening to bring the country to th verge of disintegration. So we see that Marxism, though i believes in a world purpose, is passing through an inner struggl and cannot be expected to become the redeeming moral forc to put an end to the group egoisms that have been inherite from our history or created by our present circumstances

Belief in Monsim spread in India through the teaching o the Upanishads about two thousand five hundred years ago, an since then the Monistic philosophy of the Vedanta has, with th exception of four or five centuries when Buddhism had throw it into the background, continuously ruled the minds of th intellectual class of Hindus. Apparently the conviction tha only Brahma or the Universal Soul exists, and everything else including the human species, is merely a manifestation of th one Absolute Existence should have resulted in men regardin one another as drops in the one and the same ocean of Realit and thus inseparably bound together through the bonds of universal brotherhood and love. But in the mystic consciousnes the existence of the human individual or for the matter of tha of the whole human race is, at least for all practical purposes an illusion and the love of one man for another is no mor than an illusory feeling. The Monists are always so occupied with the idea of merging themselves with the Universal Soul, that they have very little time left to attend to the individual souls. So Monism proved to be of little help in overcoming the general egotistic trend prevailing in our society. In the second half of the last century, however, Shri Rama-Krishna Pramhansa and Swami Vivekananda, and in the first half of the present

century, Shri Arvindo Ghosh gave us, each is own way, a new dynamic interpretation of the philosophy of Vedanta, and it looked as if the Vedantic creed would become a great social force of national integration and of the unity of mankind. But eventually, the ascetic tendency inherent in Monism prevented the movement initiated by Swami Vivekananda as well as that led by Shri Arvindo, from achieving their larger object of forging national and international unity. The former contented itself with becoming a national organization of social service and the latter returned itself into an island of inner peace in the turbulent sea of social life.

Naturalism of the higher order as well as Monism are confined in India to a limited section of the intellectual class. The most popular and the most widely professed faith is Theism. Muslims of all sects, without any exception, believe in One, Transcendent God, though some of those who are of a mystic bent of mind may, at the same time, believe in an immanant Universal Soul without feeling the necessity of resolving the logical contradiction. The Christians, the Zoroastrians, and the Sikhs also profess Theism. Among the Hindus, besides the sects that are essentially Unitarian, even the common people worship along with the Universal Soul and its many incarnations, the one Supreme God Now Theism, if it is true to itself, demands from its followers that they should regard all men as their brothers and should apply the principles of justice, tolerance and love uniformly in their dealings with all without any discrimination. But when the pure, clear and transparent water in the mainstream of a Theistic religion, is mixed with the turbid side-streams of selfish interests and narrow prejudices, believers in God begin to discriminate between one man and another on the basis of race, colour, language, domicile or form of worship, regarding the members of their particular community as their own people, and all the others as aliens, treat the former in one way, and the latter in another way and ultimately come to have double standards of justice and morality. This is the deplorable state in which we find most of the Theists in India today. Among them those who are sincere in their narrow faith do not at least allow their moral conduct to fall below certain standards, but "the religious communalists", to whom religion is merely an instrument of achieving political ends, make moral principles so flexible that they can

easily be amended to suit any political policy that is for the time being advantageous to them. In short, religion that was specially intended to do away with every form of egoism and to bring people together under the common banner of a universal law of love and service, of truth and righteousness, has been made the basis of groupism, separatism and of moral relativism.

But the most deplorable aspect of the whole matter is that Humanism that took the minds of our intellectual classes by storm in the second half of the nineteenth centnry, and consolidated its position in the first half of the twentieth century arousing great hopes of a cultural renaissance and a moral regeneration, was not only unable to resolve the spirtiual crisis in the country but created a new crisis for itself. The main characteristic of the Humanist movement was that though it strongly protested against the crudeness of Naturalism, the ascetism of Monism and the narrowness and rigidity of Theism, yet it took from each the elements that could fit into its philosophy and tried to incorporate them into a harmonious whole. From Naturalism it took the ideas of social justice and a classless society, from Monism that of the spiritual unity of all mankind, and from Theism those of obedience to a Universal Moral Law and reverence to a just and merciful Creator and Preserver as the source of that law, and did all that it could to make out of them the corpus of a new faith quickened by the spirit of universal brotherhood and love and selfless service.

The most prominent leaders of this movement which we can call Religious Humanism, were Tagore, Gandhi and Radhakrishnan. It may surprise many people to see the name of Gandhi along with those of Tagore and Radhakrishnan among the votaries of Humanism, because to superficial observers Gandhi appeared sometimes to be a pure Monist and sometimes an ardent Theist. But those who have made a deep study of his life and thought, know very well what a man who did not believe in Revelation, who had the courage to proclaim "I used to say that God is Truth but now I say that Truth is God" who taught us that the only way to realise Truth or God, is the love and service of man, could not have been anything but a Humanist. As a matter of fact Gandhi was, like Tagore and Radhakrishan, something of a Monist and a Theist too, but he was, just them like, essentially a Humanist. It was the magic

of the Indian environment that transformed their Humanism into a deep religiousness. Under the inspiration of these three, Religious Humanism influenced the minds of many members of our educated classes—not only Hindus but also Muslims like Abul Kalam Azad, Zakir Husian and K. G. Saiyidain. These were the people who laid the foundations of our modern education and culture, art and literature and, at the same time acted as the heralds of our national freedom.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, a new current of Humanism represented by men like Jawaharlal Nehru, appeared and mingled with the earlier current, in the main-stream of our cultural life. This was the movement of Secular Humanism for which almost the whole impetus had come from the West. Though the earlier movement of Religious Humanism had also been considerably influenced by western ideas, yet that influence had not overwhelmed those who had received it as they had their roots deep in their own traditional religions and culture, and had assimilated western ideas and institutions with discrimination. Therefore the essential charactor of their Humanism was Indian. But the pioneers of Secularism were men like Jawharlal Nehru, who had been educated almost entirely in the western environment. So the Secular Humanist movement initiated by them, was Western in its tone and temper. Still, during the period when Jawaharlal Nehru and other young men of his generation were receiving their education in the west, the secular movement there could be favourably compared with any religious movement, in its sincere devotion to and zealous pursuit of the highest moral ideals. So the Secular Humanism represented by Nehru had no difficulty in co-operating with the Religious Humanism of Gandhi to achieve their common objectives. In spite of considerable divergence in some of their views, they arrived at a practical understanding to work together to free India from foreign rule and to set up a secular democratic state.

But the disastrous moral and material consequences of the two world wars gave so terrible a mental shock to the young men and women of the last two generations in the West, that many of them have lost not only all belief in God but even the faith they had in man, and so there is now no idea of a world purpose which could serve as a bond of unity among all

men and as a universal standard of moral action; and the most sensitive of them have fallen into a state of utter egotistical pessimism which they call "anxiety" or "spiritual solitude". So their Secular Humanism has degenerated into something like Nihilism that is euphemistically named Existentialism.

That these trends in western countries influenced the younger generation of intellectuals in our country was inevitable, because their minds are still cast in the cultural moulds exported from the West. Some of your young men as blind followers of their western contemporaries, initiated anarchical movements in art, literature and to some extent in their life as students in colleges and schools. They did not realise that if the people of the West who have been for centuries, like Goethe's Faust, continuously struggling to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the universe and to live an all-sided dynamic life, who are carrying the heaviest load of civilisation that one could conceive of, feel tired and under the pretence of a nihilistic attitude to life, and want to throw away the burden that is weighing them down, they could be excused. But what excuse is there for Indian young men of today who have not yet shouldered the burden but only guessed its enormous weight by watching from a distance, losing their nerve, seeking shelter behind an existentialist view of life, just to escape the heavy responsibility they are required to bear. Owing to the lack of critical insight, they are unable to put the negative attitude to life that they find so alluring to the test of reason and to reject it outright. So they are beginning to come under its bane and though they have not yet reached the stage of nihilistic thinking they have certainly given away to escapism.

So when we cast a cursory glance over the state of things in our country, we find darkness all around us without a single ray of light. Still if we look a little more carefully, we see many points of potential light that can illuminate the world within us as well as the outside world. Among people who profess to believe in some world purpose, be it Naturalism, Monism, Theism or Humanism, there are many sincere souls who really have a passive faith in Physical Nature or in Human Nature, in the Universal Soul or in the Creator and Preserver of the Universe and at the same time in the eternal moral principles of the Law of Nature or History or in the

Divine Law. If they only come to realise that true faith is not that which slumbers in some recess of the heart but that which toils and sweats in the field of action; if they look at the life and work of any of the great moral teachers who have gone before us or of Gandhi who lived and died in our own time, and learn from them the lesson that living faith in the breast of a single individual translated into planned, persistent action can free millions of people from doubt, timidity, importent rage and hatred, arm them with "unshakable conviction, unceasing endeavour and love that conquers all" and lead them to victory in the struggle for life and liberty, for peace and progress, they will yet be saved from the the moral paralysis worse than death that is creeping in on them. With a new vigour and vitality, a new courage and determination they will be stir themselves to complete the work begun by Gandhi and continued by Nehru to realise the Indian Soul from the close and cramped dungeon of personal or group selfishness into the open and broad expanse of life in which each lives for all and finds his fulfilment in the love and service of the nation and of humanity.

Of the various obstacles in the way of our drooping, decaying faith thriving afresh and bearing fruit in the impelling urge to action, is our traditional reverence for and reliance upon the almighty Word. Our belief in the unlimited power of the Logos. the Mantram, the Kalima, is absolute and human action seems not only irrelevant but a hindrance to self-realisation and as such a positive evil "In the beginning was the Word" is to us an incomplete truth. In our philosophy of life the word is the beginning, the middle and the end. As soon as we have expressed our deepest convictions, our enthusiastic admiration for what is just or true. our righteous indignation against injustice or bigotry or perversity, in an effusion of the spoken or written word, we have a feeling of fulfilment, of spiritual elation, of bliss. It was a passing phase in our history when Gandhi infected many of us with his spirit of "Do or die" that incidentally brought us our freedom. After he left us, we lost no time in reverting to our age-old wisdom of "self-realisation through the Word".

The only thing that provides an anchor in the stormy sea of despair closing in on the writer of these lines, is the hope that

the country that produced Gandhi and the people who accepted him and believed in him, cannot tolerate for long the tyranny of words divorced from deeds, A revolution in their way of thinking is bound to come. Maybe it has already started in the native untutored mind of the mass of the people and is expressing itself in the present state of unrest in the country. If so, it must soon penetrate the sophisticated minds of our leaders—political, social, educational and religious—through the thick walls of self-complacency that they have erected round themselves and ballast these drifting vessels of bollow words with some solid action. Then the incipient revolution groping in the dark so far, will find direction and purpose. Then the crisis of the Indian soul will be resolved.

MARXISM AND MAN

HIREN MUKERJEE

Perhaps with a sort of perverse Indian pride I have always had an allergy to the celebration of birthdays, but from 1952 to 1963 I made an exception in respect of Jawaharlal Nehru, limiting myself strictly, however, to a short letter of good wishes. I recall one such, where I had said that it was a tall order on Providence to wish anybody happiness these days—besides, I had added, quoting Nietzsche's tremendous ***gibe a propos*** of the utilitarians: "Who wants happiness? Only the Englishman does". This was not on my part merely a sentimental and theatrical gesture. Often enough there has wandered into my mind, and it does still, the old Sanskrit saying :

"There is no happiness in little things; happiness is only in plenitude." It comes back to me as I read in "Polish Perspectives" (Warsaw, January 1967, Vol. X No· 1) an essay by the eminent Marxist philosopher, Adam Schaff, who writes of the need to transform this inhuman world in which things are masters of men into a truly human world, a world of free human beings who are architects of their destiny and to whom man is the measure of all things. Schaff calls for a humanism of this kind which, he says, is a theory of happiness. It reminds me of what the poet Mayakovsky once wrote about resolution and "our planet being fitted out for happiness." The word "happiness", however, has illusive connotations and I do not feel too sure about its use.

Semantics, of course, is a disturbing subject, and I have much more than a sneaking sympathy for Jesting Pilate who asked "What is truth?" and did not stay for an answer Popular usage apart, who would like "truth and "happiness" mean a full stop to things, when answers to every riddle in life are available? I gladly echo the word of Lenin who said that the doctrines of Marxism are "all-powerful because they are

"true". I feel some elation when the young Soviet poet, Evgeny Evtushenko, says: "I envision Communism, symbolically, as a state in which truth is president". But can the unfoldment of "Truth" be final at any given point, which of course philosophers of every brand, mystical or logic-chopping, aver? And can "happiness" mean the ultimate in fulfilment, so that there is nothing beyond, and one settles down to what one fears to be the boredom, because it is so still and sure, of perfection. Which, indeed, is the more exhilarating—the struggle or the victory? And where does happiness inhere, in the process or in the achievement?

For myself, I would hesitate to assess that the prime objective of Marxism (which with many short-comings, I profess) is to make people happy, for I am not quite sure what such words mean. I would, however, be ready to aver that the prime objective is to make them capable of happiness, to remove as far as is possible the hindrances to happiness, and therefore to equalize opportunities for the development of individuals as well as of society (since individual development is a necessary condition of social development, while the latter is also a necessary condition of the former).

It was Karl Marx who showed, with a combination of passion and power which is incomparable, that with the appropriation by individual persons of the common means of production in society, contradiction and struggle were introduced into human living. To indicate this contradiction he used Hegel's term "alienation"—in Marx's words, the "essential misery" (*Wesentliches Elend*) of being deprived of the product of one's own work and the poignant dualism between earning one's living and living one's life. This is a contradiction which penetrates the whole of human existence—economic, social, judicial, political and spiritual. As Marx wrote once to Engels: "Work is external to the worker, that is to say, it is not part of his nature, that he therefore does not fulfil himself in his work His work is not voluntary but coerced, forced labour (*Zangsarbeit*)." It was with "man, proud man" that Marx was essentially concerned, and it was man's misery that never let him rest. "If one chose to be an ox", he wrote once, "one could of course turn one's back on the agonies of mankind and look after one's own skin."

In the recently unearthed "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," the accent was strictly on man. Herein Marx declared that "if communism is the riddle of history solved" it was because "communism equals humanism". Some people have tried to project the idea of a conflict between the thought of the young and the old Marx, the former allegedly being concerned with the "human essence" and the latter, turned a professional revolutionary being unworried by the problems of man and his freedom. It should be plain, however, that Marx's ideas were an organic whole. Even in *Das Kapital* (1867) Marx did not hesitate to posit "alienation" as he viewed it, as a key element in his system. And as early as in the "*Theses on Feuerbach*" (1844) he had spoken of the "human essence" as "no abstraction inherent in each single individual, but in its reality the ensemble of the social relations".

The programme (1961) of the communist party of the Soviet Union defines the goal of communism as "the full development of the best ethical properties of man." This is in keeping with the humanist inspiration that breathes through the work of Marx. Man becomes man, becomes alive through work, for through work he loses his isolation, becomes a social being and thus learns of himself. Through work, again, he is able to transform Nature as well. The alienation of Man, thought Marx, lay not in some philosophical abstraction of mind, nor was it, as philosophers of the idea of despair like Kierkegard thought, an ineluctable and universally pervasive feature of *la condition humaine*. It lay in the property system, in the fact of labour becoming a commodity and man turning into an object used by others and, therefore, unable to obtain satisfaction in his own activity. By becoming himself a commodity, he lost his sense of "himself," a loss which socialism alone can recoup. "Communism takes from none" Marx said, "the power of appropriating to himself social products. It takes away only the power of subjugating the labour of another to himself by means of this appropriation".

In effect, what Marxism says is simple enough. If one is serious about wanting a world in which all men can work together, in harmony, helping one another to realize the full human potential in each, then there is a certain kind of social organisation which one must struggle, along with others, to

achieve. Marxism requires, thus, a commitment, as it were, not only to thought but also to action. When the need for action is paramount, it cannot countenance the intellectual luxury, which only the privileged in class society enjoy, of desisting from action on the ground that a full and final judgment cannot be easily made. Marxism calls for people's response, which is objectively warranted by conditions today, to what is basically a moral challenge to transform society.

GURU NANAK : THE MAN AND THE POET

DR. GOPAL SINGH

When one speaks of Guru Nanak, one speaks not so much of Nanak the man, but Nanak, the idea, an idea that did not remain an abstraction as with Kabir and others of his style, but became live and was actualised through Nanak, the man. The two, therefore, are interwoven, and when one speaks of one, one cannot but do so with reference to the other.

Nanak was an Indian, his ideas are also essentially Indian. But he was born in a part of India which has been, speaking politically, more a part of Central Asia than what later came to be known as India proper. It is here that the Aryans made their first settlements and uttered, inspired by her natural, vigorous beauty in all her charm and terror what has yet to be surpassed either in imaginative sweep or sensitive appreciation of the joys of the flesh. Through the Rig Veda, composed mostly on the banks of the Punjab's five rivers, we come across a society which loves the toil and the luxuries of life, which is martial and manly, is acquainted with the arts and crafts, and has not only in its midst herdsmen, smiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, artisans and carriage-makers, but even ship-builders. All-knowing physicians are lauded, and frequent mention is made of drinking houses and dice, of musicians and dancers. Gaily dressed females "with their hair in four knots" are coveted, and the woman, the superior of man, is known as the "light of the dwelling". The society admits of no caste, though there is colour consciousness and the black aboriginies are driven to the forest and the mountain. Sacrifices of cattle are recommended, and also the eating of flesh The sick and the aged are put to death, and devoured. The qualities of a *wine, soma,* which the drink alike of men and the gods, are praised overmuch. It is believed to prolong life, and inspires the sacred song. And the gods are propitiated to bring health and joy to men and women and to do them no harm. If one god chooses to do evil, there's

another also to destory him.

But, what we know of the aboriginies of this land, from tl excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harrapa, also testifies to civilisation in no way inferior to that of the Aryans, even thou; they are called *Asuras*, *Rakshasas*, *Sayums*, *Dasyus*, *Dasas* (slaves, and are known even as evil spirits. As is now well-know they lived in walled cities and mention is made of the "wealtl *Rakshasas*," of their "seven towers and ninety forts." Tl maturity of pre-Sanskrit Tamil and the existence in Hindi about a tenth of its pre-Aryan vocabulary, prove that the ab riginies weren't a race in anyway less civilised than their Ary: conquerers. The structure and beauty of their ornaments ai the statues of their gods and goddesses, especially the latte point to their noted advance in the finer aspects of life.

The greatest war of ancient times, the *Mahabharta*, w fought in the Punjab. And not merely, war. But, the just famous book of Indian philosophy, the *Bhagvad-Gita*, al found its utterance here. This portion of our land was not u justly termed *Brahm-varta*. The Sanskrit grammarians of u dying fame, Pannini, was born near Taxila which became al the greatest centre of Buddhist learning. The Gandhara scho of art developed in this region whose influence spread rig into Central Asia.

But, that is the story of the pre-Christian era. Once in sions started from the North-West, the Egyptians followed the Scythians and the Tartars and the Persians, and finally Alexander the great of Macedonia, the Punjab became both t battle-ground and the crowning achievement of a conqueri race. For, it was seldom indeed that the conquerer wou dare to move beyond the Chenab: so fierce was the resistan from the land of the five rivers. Chandergupta Mauriya, driv out of his home, won the throne of India and became a *Chak rvartin* with the help of Punjabi men-of-arms. But, once, t Punjab fell, as it did, finally, in 1010 A.D. under Anang P the entire Indian sub-continent lay at the feet of the conquer It is not a mere accident of history that before the advent the British, who took a sea-route, all decisive battles for t throne of Hindustan were fought for over eight hundred ye: in or around Panipat, to the south-west of the Punjab.

When Nanak came on the scene in 1469 A.D., most of the north, east and south India had passed under the Muslims, mostly Afghans, from the north-west. Persian had replaced Sanskrit and a new hybrid language of intercourse between the invaders and the indigenous populace, called Urdu, was being evolved first in Punjab and then in and around Delhi. In the days of Nanak, Babur, the Moghal, invaded India four times and finally settled on the throne of Delhi in 1526. Hinduism had lost its earlier Vedic moarings. There was no more the exhuberance and joy of the earthy life for which alone the gods were propitiated and could be justified. Society had become lifeless and supine. Though no higher philosophy has yet been thought of than what the Upanishads or the end-parts or the Veda had visualised, of man's relation with the Universe, of individual soul with an all-pervading and yet transcendent Over-soul, Hinduism was now more a matter of outer ritual than inner experience. Women had been utterly down-graded. Daughters were murdered at birth and it is no wonder that 13,000 of choice Rajput brides leapt into fire on a single day when the battle of Chittor was lost. Buddhism, once the moral hope of the entire civilised world, had been driven out of its original home, India, through the rise of neo-Hinduism under *Sankara* or the overpowering influence of Islam. Caste had so much divided and disintegrated our race that when over a hundred years after Nanak, Shivaji, the great Maratha hero wanted to be crowned a Hindu king no Brahmin was prepared to anoint him! For over six months, he fed 50,000 of them with their families and gifted away tons of gold and silver before his wish could be fulfilled, and even then the Vedic mantras were read out so rapidly that he, being the son of a farmer and hence a Sudra, may not be able to decipher the sacred word of God. Sanskrit, the language of the olympian gods had become the exclusive preserve of the high-caste Brahmins, and the Sudras, which included all women and almost all those who worked for a living, were denied the privilege of reading the Veda or studying the language of gods in which it was written or revealed.

Though a new wave of assertion in our age-old values of the spirit had sprung with the emergence of Kabir, Ravidas, Tukaram and Namdeva, Mira Bai, Dadu, Chaitanya, and before them the Alvar Saints of the South, emphasising that not

caste, nor even creed, determined one's relation with the c God of the whole Universe, that no language was sacred l that which came from the heart, and much soul-stirring a sensitive poetry in various Indian languages had resulted, alo with a new movement of Bhakti, or the loving adoration Vishnu through his incarnations, Krishna or Rama, their i press on the society as a whole was only marginal. T Bhaktas were accepted, even though grudgingly, into the h archy of Saints, their followers mostly out-castes, continued be treated as outcastes. The Muslims and the Hindus, insp of their teachings, continued to be treated as two distinct so (and even, political) entities. And what is worse, no secu hope was offered to the subject peoples of Hindustan, for world, even according to the Bhaktas, was Maya, an illus or a delusion, a passing show and hence not worthy of a seri men's attention !

But Nanak was different. He not only gave men the m sage of spiritual fulfilment, but also of earthly hope He only decried caste but established the outcastes alongwith ot as his new messengers of hope : Mardana, the Muslim dr mer; Sajjan, a Muslim Sheikh and once a thug and a cut-thr Lalo and Jhanda, the carpenter; Shivanabnam, the king, Chatur Das, the Brahmin. Born in Punjab in 1469, marr with two sons he left his home, possibly at the age of twe and for forty years, he trudged on foot, visiting not only four corners of India, but also Ceylon, Tibet and Lada Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Messopotamia and several o famous centres of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim cultures. A wherever he went, he challenged superstition, formalism religion, caste-consciousness, separateness or superiority b of creed, sex or colour and awakened men to their inner which, indeed, had emanated from a Universal Self :

> "That what is in microcosm is also in macrocasm and he who searcheth, findeth too."

For this, it wasn't necessary to deny the world, but to a vely engage in honest secular activity, not only to earn o bread, but to have the privilege of sharing it, and this, no pamper one's ego or to earn other men's favour or gratit but as an offering to the Divine within us and beyond.

merit of a devoted life was not merely in the Hereafter, but in the here and ***now.*** For that what yesterday was our past has become our present with the rise of the new sun, and on this, indeed, also centres our future, for what we are to-day will determine what we shall tomorrow be.

"Why blamest thou others, blame thy deeds.
For thou receivest the fruit of what thou sowest."

Thus, although Nanak accepts the validity of the Hindu view of *Karma* leading to transmigration, and the end of life being the attainment of Nirvana or Moksha, he entirely transforms the meaning of these terms. This human birth is not a punishment for our sins committed in the unknown past, but a reward for our piety and holiness and a stage in man's evolution from which there is only but one higher state, that of the superman, of an angel's, not Neitschza's man of power to over-powers others. Hell is here and also heaven. "In ego," says Nanak, "does one experience heaven or hell!" "O father, my coming-and-going have ended. The fire that burnt within me is cooled with the nector of Thy Name."

Man is not born in sin, nor the world is false, even though transitory, it is the abode of the True One. "Precious is the human birth," says Nanak, "only those turned Godwards attain to it." Again, says he:— "Implanting His Name within us, God made our body the expression of His Law."

"True are Thy worlds, True Thy Universes," though "false are the kings and those that subject themselves to their authority and also they who come here merely to go out, build castles of dust but not hearts of men!" Says Nanak:—

"Wonderous are sounds and sights and the wisdom of men and the distinctions they cultivate, and even their separate ways. Wondrous are those who walk on Thy Path and also those who are strayed away O God, I'm wonderstruck on seeing all Thy wonders."

So that, according to Nanak there is nothing inherently sinful. "Whom shall I call bad when there is not another without Thee?" proclaims he.

But, still there is sin and pain in the world. "The wo was created for the Saint," says Kabir, "but thieves have tal it over, though the earth mindeth not their weight and e bringeth them profit." Such, however, is not the reaction Nanak. Not only did he court imprisonment at the hands Babur, but uttered some of his most patriotic verses at t time, full of not only anguish but an appeal to act and rebel:

"Nanak: now is the time to sing the wedding song of death.

And anoint our foreheads not with saffron, but with blood."

"Pain is the cure: pleasures are the malady," proclaim he as a medicament for the state into which his countrym had fallen. Was the God of men, who, according to Nan is both the source of good and evil, to blame for this? Ii way, yes, but only partly so. "For he whom the God wisl to waste away, He takes away first his goodness." But, it given to man, says Nanak, to restore that goodness in him, attuning himself to his God, through constant rememberar of Him, with loving adoration, like a wedded woman cherisl her spouse even though separated by distance, though ne in time.

This one remarkable feature in Nanak's message trai formed our whole society wherever his holy name travell that the body, the temple of the God of Truth, was to be yok to find out and attune ourselves to this Truth, nor merely 1 the sake of individual salvation, but for uplifting a whole c porate society. "Nanak: he who's redeemed redeeme others too by his presence." And redemption comes throu the discipline of a type of what Aurovindo has lately term "Integral yoga," which is a combination of the Bhakti-yog Karma-yoga, and Gyan-yoga—but not of Hathayoga, macei tion or the burning-away of the body.

And it is to the eternal glory of Nanak that whereas befc him look into the books of India's history as well as you ma you do not come across a whole man for centuries before hi And, with his rise arises also a galaxy of saints, warriors, po

and musicians, artists and men dedicated to service of the others, irrespective of caste or community, and a new socio-spiritual order comes into being which gathers high and low (more low than high), Hindu and Mohemmedan, the Aryan and the Semitic, on a single platform, and ultimately welds them into a formidable social force. Foreign imperialism is ended, and even more than that the tyranny of one way of life upon another. The earth becomes more productive, women become equal, if not superior of men. Not only is caste exclusiveness wholly obliterated, but also caste-consciousness. And men grow not only in the soul, but become more broad of limb, more full of defiance against earthly odds, and fighting not for the self, or an exclusive group, but for values, and against tyranny, whether spiritual or social, from whatever quarter it comes.

That Nanak, disinheriting his sons, could find a successor as worthy of him as Angad and that this could continue for two centuries and more, is another tribute to his insight into the character of men and his power to reshape and rebuild them after his own image. Everyone of them was not only an awakened soul, but a man of action ever-ready to do or die, and often times a poet and a philosopher, if not also a builder and an organiser of cities and commerce and peoples.

Nanak, as is well-known, was a poet of great excellence. I make bold to say that he was the father of modern Indian literature. He writes in a language which is not often Punjabi, as it is now understood, but in a mixed language, which for want of a better name, we may call "*Sadhu Bhasha*", understood then as now all over North India. His sentiment is essentially Indian: and never for once does he so much as mention the name of Punjab in his extensive writings. He accepts the basic tenets of the Indian view of life—self-surrender against self-assertion, idealism against mere existentialism; a democratic spiritual temper so as to not only to tolerate, but appreciate and, if possible, integrate another's point of view; spiritualism against materialism, though the line of Nanak emphasises that the spirit and the matter have emanated from and submerge in the same source, (Nanak: The subtle and the apparent are indeed, indentical), which is a revolutionary doctrine though, today, in the age of modern science, it seems so naturaland so true.

But, what distinguishes him from the run of other poets that Nanak is less metaphysical and more mystic, more lyric and less discursive or didactic; more personal than formal...

He gives not so much the philosophy as the psychology love. John Donne's famous lines, "For God's sake hold yo tongue, and let me love," aptly describes the prevailing mo of Nanak's poetry. But love is nowhere affected as in mu of Vaishnava poetry, but always a spontaneous, intimate e perience. The gymnastics of metres and words, the calculat subtlety, rhetoric of wit, the poetic conceit, are not his, as o finds in most metaphysical poetry. It is the heartful expressi of an innocence that's born of inner wisdom.

Nanak employs speech-rythms extensively in his poet and not the conventional metres, many of which he uses a yet subtly transforms so as conform to the mood and the sen ments and the feeling than to the set patterns of Hindi prosod He is perhaps the first Indian poet to have experimented wi free verse and blank verse. And so many variations does introduce into the age-old measures that it is well-nigh impo sible to designate them, even if all these could be delineat through laborious research. And that is what he does al with his words. He uses them for their inner meaning, the feel, their sound correspondence with the prevailing mo rather than their correct, accepted notations as found in lexicon. That is how I feel that he is more than any oth poet of modern India the harbinger of a new freedom in t style of poesy. I should not call it a style, for Nanak is inimi able and never stylish.

And, so also with his subject-matter. His main theme ar its treatment is so modern that Pearl S. Buck was constraine to remark after reading my English translation of the A Granth that of the moderns in letters, Guru Nanak is one the most modern. For, when asked about the origin of t Universe, he said, "When one thinks of the beginning, one lost in a sense of wonder." He calls "the world egg-shape visualises a time when there was chaos upon chaos and Go alone was seated in His absolute Trance, when there was n sin and no virtue, no heaven or hell, no earth or sky, wind n fire. And when it pleased Him, He caused the Universe

come into being, not only the Universe of man, but also many other universes. ("There are myriads of the under worlds and the skies")—but they are all strung upon the One alone and obey fixed laws, ever the same for everyone in all ages and climes. The age of the world and man is known to Him alone who caused them. For, us, it is a mystery. And He created them for His play, for expressing His power, His virtues and His Grace: All that He had to give man he has given and if he knows how to harness and distribute it, he it is who'd say, "Enough, no more!"

What is the nature of this God—the Creator and the Destroyer, of all, the giver of pain and pleasuee, "to whom if one's inself attuneth, he asketh for nought but for Him alone?" Says Nanak.— "I know not how to describe Him, for He can be compared to Himself alone. So I submit to Him: O God, Thou art what only Thou art."

It is not for any reward in the Hereafter that one becomes His devotee. "The wise one," says Nanak "abandons even desire to be emancipated." For, emancipation, according to Nanak, is not to be released into the emptiness of the void, but into the rythms of love. And who that has ever loved craved over for release? Loving is itself emancipation.

When while young, they considered Nanak to be ailing for he had refused to farm or keep a shop, they called in a physician who felt Nanak's pulse. Nanak smiled and said to the wise one:—

"My one malady is that I'm separated from myself.
And the other that I crave to be what I should be.
And the third that I'm in the eye of the all-powerful death.
And, then, there's pain to suffer, and man cometh only to pass away.
O physician, which of these maladies will you cure,
O, which, indeed?"

And when his father and mother asked him to do as he was bidden for their pleasure, he answered:—

"I know not who's my father or mother, and from whence I came.

And why fire and water have blended to make of me
what I am.
Within me there is something that gnaws at my heart,
And sayeth: Thou shalt be at peace if Thou submittest
to the Will of thy Lord."

When Nanak went out to preach his gospel, the first message he gave was:- "There's no Muslim and no Hindu!"—"I'm a mere man, made up of five elements!" When asked, who is a true Muslim, he said, "He who sayeth the five prayers of Truth, honest living, invoking the Grace of Allah, clean and humble mind and the rememberance of God." When asked to wear the sacred thread like a devout Hindu, he said:—

"If compassion be the cotton, contentment the thread, and of continence the knot and of Truth the twist, then this thread would burn not, nor be soiled, and keep one's company both here and in the yond." When asked who he was he would say:— "I'm lowest of the low. For God's Grace is only where the lowly and the lost are cared for."

At Puri, they were performing the *Arti* before the idol of Lord Jagannath with earthen lamps and incense and flowers and the beating of cymbals and drums. Said the Guru:—

"When in the salvar of the Sky, the lamps of the sun and the moon and the stars, studded like jewels, pay homage to his magnificence, and the winds wave fragrance to Him of all the mountains, and all the woods are in bloom to shower flowers on the path of His chariot, and the Unstruck Melody of the World ringeth through space, how can we pay homage to Him with our small minds and rituals—yea, Him who's seen and yet not seen, who has a myriad eyes, and yet no eyes, and who can only be experienced and never described!"

It is said Rabinder Nath Tagore's father, when he heard this *Arti* being sung at the Golden Temple at Amritsar, came in ecstacy and started dancing with joy. "Wonder. O wonder," he's reported to have said, "My God is a wonder!"

Many miracles have been attributed to Nanak, but he always disclaimed any miraculous powers and even denounced

them. "Without the power of the God's World, I have no other miracle to show. With it, I make angels of men!" "Even if I flew in the air and ate iron or lived buried in the snows, of what account is this to man or to my God!"

If water thrown towards the East at Haridwar could reach the high heavens, why couldn't his reach the Punjab towards the West? At Mecca, he spread his feet towards the holy Kaaba: the Muslim house of God. When reprimanded, he said, "Turn my feet to whichever side God is not!" He was asked why he had cooked fish on the day of the solar-eclipse at Kurekshetra, the Guru replied:- "Is water not life? Is vegetation not life? Is a woman not flesh?" About food and drinks he enjoined:— "Only that food, that joy, is vain that aileth the body or bringeth to the mind the thought of sin!"

When he saw the professional dancers performing *Krishna-Lila*, not to express their devotion, but to collect coins by amusing their audiences, he put them to shame, saying:

"Do not the oil-presses dance? And the spinning wheels?
And the hand-mills? And the potters' wheels?
And the incesants whirl winds in the deserts?
And the tops and the churning-sticks?
And the threshers, and the birds whose flying knows no rest?"

When asked how is one to light one's lamp of Wisdom, he answered:—"By outgrowing one's knowledege." Asked who is a Yogi, he said, "He who looketh upon all men alike." Asked who of the two was greater, Hindu or Muslim, he answered:— "He who doeth more good to others!"

Of the nine *Rasas* or mood, into which Indian literary tradition has categorised poetry, there is not one in which Nanak's poetry does not excel. *Sringar* or *Shant*, *Kuruna* or *Rodra*, or *Bhayana*, *Adbhuta* or *Vira*, *Hasya* or *Bibhatasa*. But nowhere is the expression of joy exhuberant, nor of sadness unalloyed. It's mellowed, seasoned wood out of which the words and moods are carved. The sentiment and the mood is always spontaneous, intimate and heart-felt and the words and images which echo them are equally so. The transitoriness of life, and man's

indulgence to the detriment of his inner growth is expressed not in words but in feeling Rendered literally, it would read'—

"O black deer, hear thou, why art thou
attached to the beauty of the garden?
The fruit of vice is sweet for a day,
and then it giveth pain.
The world is like a sea-wave, like
lightening's flash,
It cometh and it goeth...... ..
Nanak speaketh the Truth, dwell thou
on thy Lord in the mind, for tomorrow thou diest,
O black deer.
O black bee, thou that hoppest
from flower to flower,
O my stranger soul, thou that
art involved in strife... ..
O fish, separated (from the sea)
with a tear staying
still in her eyes......
O split stream, thy Union is rare
with thy source!"

Nanak is very aesthetic in the delineation both of his objective, the unitive experience of God, and the Path that leads to it. "My God," he says, "is ever-fresh, ever-new, ever beneficent."

What is He like? "Of beauteous eyes, sparkling teeth, of sharp nose and luxurious hair, of golden body and alluring gait, of steps like a peacock's, of every flowering youth, whose speech is ever sweet and full of melody like a koel's in a mango-grove!" Again, he compares the soul of the seeker to a young bride, drunk with her beauty of sharp features whom the beloved also seeks to enjoy.

And when there's a meeting of the two, one's within is lost in ecstacy and wonder:

That's why the symbol of the bride and the groom is represented over and over again to express the pain of separation, the ever-fresh joy of intimacy, the spontaneity of self-

surrender, and the cool comfort of the seeker being also the sought-after.

And the world and all the elements like the God who created them are a sheer wonder:

"The earth is studded with six jewels, where one is sent out to love." The God is "like a tree in fruit, of deep and cool shade, ever-green, whose sap giveth eternal life." If it is a forest, it is of the fragrant sandal-wood, even though girt by snakes. "Blessed, blessed, are my beauteous doors through which entereth my love, and I'm cooled".

Says Nanak:

> "God is like a beauteous temple, studded with rubies and jewels and pearls and pure diamonds. He's the enticing fortress of gold." "No, no, my God is not in the books, neither in the Veda nor in the Semitic texts. There's nothing like unto him in the world. But, lo, my King is here before me, for, verily, He's a Presence!"

What is good? That what pleaseth my God. Where is God? Where one's heart is. What is Truth? That which goeth not and is valid wherever and by whomsoever tested. What is beauty? Which maketh one lose oneself in its ecstacy and wonder and stayeth whole and forever!"

For Nanak, Truth is not an abstraction, nor beauty, nor goodness. It is live and active and is seen, felt and experienced. Says he "Truth is above everything: but higher still is the living of Truth." It is only by emptying our within of our self, that we enter into the realm of Truth, but this self-surrender should be inborn and heart-felt. For, do not the hunters of deer also bow down? A sinner, indeed, boweth down twice as much as lover?" What is worship? It is not a formatistic ritual, but a hearty self-denial. "Whatever the God conscious being doeth, is worship!"

How is one to keep detached in the midst of the world? "Like the Lotus, his roots in mud, but his flower above the surface of the water: like the duck in a stream?" How is one

to love? "Like water loveth the milk. The heat it suffereth upon itself, but the milk it alloweth not to burn!"

Guru Nanak in his style is so pithy and direct that his words have entered into our folklore. There is no verse of his which does not contain one or two enunciations of Truth with the discipline, spontaneity of utterance and meaningfulness of a proverb. Only a few examples will suffice:

1. Truth is never too old!
2. He who loseth God loseth himself!
3. Heaven is attained not through words, but through the practise of Truth.
4. What kind of wisdom is this that nourishes within us ego or greed?
5. What kind of love is this which maketh us not fear-free of the beloved?
6. He who conquers himself, conquers the whole world.
7. Not through knowledge one knoweth, but through love.
8. Pain and pleasure are the two garments that one wears.
9. Dust returneth to dust; the air blendeth with the air. O, who is it, then, that dieth?
10. What shall I do in the forest when the spring is here within me!
11. Nanak: each one that I have seen is in pain, except the one who's awakened like the Guru, etc. etc .

It's said, Swami Ramakrishna Parmhansa used to deliver his entire message in four words: "Make one your mind and tongue:" Guru Nanak went further and said, "Utter what you think and feel and also act upon it."

Think, and then act, and do not have either two hearts, or two minds, nor two faces; but whatever you think or do, should not be for self-glory or greed, but for the good of another, less fortunate but perhaps more deserving.

For Nanak never used the world "I" in his entire writings

except in a spirit of deep humility. It was always you, and He and Him for him, never I, me and mine. In humility that is born of self-confidence and thus is natural and spontaneous, there is no one to compare with Guru Nanak. For him, there were no final truths except those that answered the questionings of man throughout the ages. He never considered himself either the final messenger of God, or an exclusive one. And therein lies his eternal glory.

THE OPEN DOOR

S. MORLEY

"A window on the world", "a mirror reflecting man and nature" are two striking images international museum leaders have used to describe the functions of an active modern museum in contemporary society. They measure a long road from the "cabinets of curiosities" and accumulations of archaeological and natural history objects, assembled from excavations, and explorations, lying haphazardly and dimly labelled, on dusty shelves, which were the first "museums" a couple of centuries ago, survivals of which are to be found even today in all countries of the world, though happily in steadily dwindling numbers

Everywhere today, the important museums in all subjects—archaeology, arts, history, natural history, pure and applied sciences, in the widest variety—are seeking new and more effective means of putting the treasures of knowledge that they hold at the service of mankind. Perhaps in their present new guise they may most appropriately be called "doors", doors opening on knowledge, which is spread out to be enjoyed and made their own by all who care to enter and to look attentively.

The extent to which great museums of the world have won acceptance from the general public in this role of a "door" to knowledge, may be gauged by the millions of visitors recorded annually by such museums as The Hermitage, Leningrad; The Louvre, Paris; the Science Museum, London; the American Museum of Natural History, New York; the Museo National de Antropologia, Mexico; the National Museum, Tokyo, to name at random widely dispersed examples in different fields. Indeed, large attendance at museums has become characteristic of advanced societies, and it would seem that this tendency towards increasing popularity among all segments of the population will continue there. Meanwhile, in rapidly developing countries, as people grow in culture as in a healthy curiosity

about themselves and their world, more use is being made of museums of every kind as potent contributors to education as well as to personal enjoyment. Museums provide the expanding knowledge, by direct visual experience, that is at once a pleasure and an education.

Seeing directly, with understanding and with delight, provides a way of learning with which no other method can compete. This is the method museums use.

This ability to communicate by providing direct visual experience of actual objects is an advantage peculiar to museums ; their unending research today is for ways to develop it to the maximum for the education and for the enjoyment of all categories of the community. In museums' custody are the most valuable of visual aids for the educator : to make them easily available to him and to make sure that he uses them well is their obligation.

Museums as "instruments of education" are by now no novelty, at least in discussions in museum circles. It is even not impossible to cite numerous examples of museums fitting the description to some degree more or less satisfactorily. But the concept remains too often a generality, a desired and admired ideal, a vague aspiration, rather than the practical and influential reality that it deserves to be and is, indeed, expected to be in contemporary society.

Likewise, if museum people are, generaly speaking, completely dedicated to the museum as an educational institution, and from their side try their best to realize the potentialities of their museums in this direction, they are, in most parts of the world, still faced with handicaps in reaching this goal. The most general one, always frustrating to them, is popular ignorance about the modern museum. The public at large, including the officials of government, often even those in administrative charge of museums, and the educators, who should be using museums in their teaching, and demanding of museum staff members services helpful to this teaching, are alike, too often uniformed on modern museums and their educational uses. This is perhaps not surprising, for the early efforts of museums to serve education by encouraging class visits, in

large groups, which were paraded through exhibition halls a fast pace, and seem to have left on most pupils an impressi of deep boredom, were in vogue when the present generati of influential public leaders and educators were in school. Th retain too often, if they visited museums at all, unhap memories of their early museum experiences; and they do n realize, for the most part, that a fundamental change in musu has taken place since their youth. In some cities indeed t museum visit has now become for schools a reward, look forward to and competed for, as a high-light of the sch year. In still other places, repeated, carefully planned visits museums, arranged to supplement classroom work, ha become not only the most effective, but also the most enjoyal aspects of education from the point of view of educator a pupil alike. It must be the aim of museums everywhere arrive at comparable successful cooperation with educators. the same time their task of serving the general public of ages and types by exhibitions and in a variety of other appr priate ways, must not be neglected. Indeed the two functio may be considered complementary aspects of the same norm museum work.

What then is the contemporary museum? It is a pla where objects of value to learning—in all fields—are collecte studied and kept safe, but above all, are used to contribute the growth of human understanding and culture. Exhibitio are the principal means by which they serve the general publi In them museum objects are shown in a way to convey info mation, to provide instruction, to assure enjoyment in t field of the museum's competence, as far as possib directly by the objects themselves, by the order in which the are exhibited, by their groupings and associations, by the com arisons and contrasts they provide. They must be presented a handsome and agreeable manner, for a great part of the power to attract attention, and therefore to instruct, depenc on the enjoyment with which they are seen. An exhibitio worthwhile presenting must be shown effectively so that i impact is as great as possible; this is a guiding principle fo museum scholarship and installation techniques. The effect i on individuals, providing a means for them to acquire info mation, to cultivate taste, to widen experience at their ow pace according to their personal desires. Thus the contemporar

museum aspires to attract the general public on a broad basis and to serve it by contributing by visual means to general cultural development and to general education.

The contemporary museum also recognizes its obligation to supplement formal education at every level, from kindergarten to university, in a wide diversity of ways. In this aspect of its work the educational and cultural influence of the museum becomes an organized and directed programme, as much a part of school or university work as the classroom exercise. To have any meaning such museum use for formal education should be fully integrated with the curriculum, and its result should be to enrich and deepen for the student what he is studying.

The contemporary museum increasingly adds to these two fundamental aspects of its service to the community, activities of a kind that may be considered continuing and adult education. They lead generally to no certificate or diploma, but their rewards for those who attend are increased knowledge, a richer intellectual and cultural experience, a cultivation of taste and judgment, acquired on personal initiative under competent guides, in the world of visual awareness and communication. Under such a heading must be grouped activities ranging from the simple form of the occasional illustrated lecture or demonstration and the pertinent film programme, offered sporadically or regularly, to highly organized classes or courses that may attain the level of university work. Meetings of groups interested in a special subject, studio and workshop courses, field trips for the natural sciences are all successful forms of educational activity in contemporary museum. Generally such courses or meetings are followed solely for the pleasure and profit of those participating. The museum on its part derives its benefits by assisting in the formation of a larger, better informed and interested public, to provide leaders in the community, who will help its work to be appreciated and supported. These are cases, however, in which such courses by museums have been used for direct practical purposes. For example, in some places, a school teacher, completing successfully a museum course on history of art, may receive a certificate that is valid as a qualification for a special salary

increment or even for promotion. Another example is technical museum which is used by the State to provid ing courses for workmen whose occupations have disaj or require increased skills. In this case, the museum to prevent the unemployment caused by industrial and logical progress.

It can be seen that the opportunities for museums o kind are limitless even in their contemporary form; it foreseen that they will be broader, richer and more va the museum of the future that can be expected to have shed much more firmly its place in service to the comı It should be emphasized that the earlier traditional serv museums, as collections used by scholars and scientists, nue and are nowadays taken for granted, by no means in in the contemporary museum or in its future form, but improved.

For all it does the museum uses the actual object example and point of departure. Because of its colle the originals, with which nothing else can ever compe museum remains a unique source of direct experience, w in regard to man, his creative work and his achieve (museums of archaeology, arts, history, pure and a sciences) or his world (museums of the natural sciences, t cal and zoological gardens, aquaria). For every aspect work the object is the source and the instrument or m In the exhibition areas it is the object that speaks dire the viewer and, as far as possible, by its own visual r Words, that is to say, labels, can rarely be eliminated letely from an exhibition, but they should be used witl great restraint. The experience of viewing the object unique service of the museum and no other means of cc ing information should distract from the direct visual c with the objects or be allowed to substitute for it. Thu labels, when used, should contribute to making seeing significant. For example, they should provide the ess facts as guidance for understanding, and they should enco repeated looking at the object, and comparing it with objects on exhibition, so that as full and yet discriminati impression of them all, as is possible, can be obtainc the alert and sensitive viewer. The introductory label fc

exhibition, suggesting tactfully what to look for, what general style or principles are illustrated, what materials, techniques and purposes are exemplified, and providing any other facts, pertinent to fuller understanding, is a helpful method of assisting the visitor to derive benefit from the tour of an exhibition. For those for whom the label does not serve, the guide lecturer can provide the same introduction. Individual labels, or the guide's talk, about a specific piece on exhibition then become the citing of an example illustrating the larger general facts provided in the framework of understanding. These helpful introductions, whether written or spoken are, to pursue the image, equivalent to the welcome proffered at the threshold of the "open door" that the contemporary museum is.

The object as the focus of attention makes possible a method of instruction that leaders of museum education advocate. When lecturing in the museum they do not give information about the object; they do not "tell" the spectator, whether school child or visitor, about it. Instead, they ask him questions as he stands before it, that help him to look with greater attention and to discover for himself from the object what it has to tell him. In other words, by questions they lead the way from passive reception of information and superficial "looking", to sensitive and preceptive "seeing", and an active relationship of visual awareness of the object in the fullest possible degree. Though skilled museum educators have long used the question device instinctively, it is a relatively, new method to be studied and adapted and perfected consciously by museum people as an educational technique peculiarly suited to their work.

How do museums of India stand in relation to the contemporary international standards? By improving exhibitions to make them more attractive and more instructive, there is much progress in recent years almost everywhere in the country, encouraged and often subsidized by the Ministry of Education under its Scheme for the Development of Museums. For educational activities, one can claim that they have in general, a sound beginning here They go back a long way in some cases, indeed, but have shown very slow growth and so far little that is new. Yet, as India may be considered among the developing nations the one having the best developed museum

movement, as well as more museums of importance and variety than any other, it would be logical to expect it to show how museums can contribute usefully to a society growing rapidly in the international modern pattern. Only one of its museums, the National Children's Museum and Bal Bhavan, has something truly new to offer. This museum, or perhaps more accurately, children's centre, including museum functions, has deliberately set out to develop a programme determined by Indian conditions. It has had considerable success and may now be regarded as a leader among museums for young people everywhere. Otherwise, some Indian museums have for many years had lectures of distinction; almost all of any size receive school visits and likewise provide guidance when requested, not only to classes but to organized adult groups and private visitors. In recent years a few have offered motion picture programmes, related to their collections. The two applied science museums, the Birla Industrial & Technological Museum, Calcutta, and the Visvesvarya Industrial & Technological Museum,Bangalore, have gone farthest in planning cooperation with schools and advanced courses of scientific and technical education. Otherwise a rare effort or two at offering organized courses has been made, but tentatively and without the systematic and fully detailed planning required for success. Obviously in India there is tremendous scope for museum courses for adults, especially in the field of archaeology and arts, and in technology, where museums, with the rapid teaching direct visual contact assures, have advantages over other educational institutions. In technology and applied sciences, the general public can be helped towards that climate of scientific interest and elementary knowledge important to a developing society. In archaeology and the arts, museums can help in bridging the passage of a people from an ancient tradition to the contemporary industrialized world, illustrating the past and indicating how important its values remain today in demonstrating man's creative gifts and timeless standards, in international as well as national context.

The immediate task before Indian museums therefore is to recognize fully their opportunities and obligations,to the community and the nation, and strive to meet them in ways appropriate and feasible under prevailing conditions. This development depends on their staffs above all. Those who have witnessed the

progress of the past few years in the museum profession here, in growing awareness of individual tasks, in technical skills and in initiative and effort can feel no doubts on the final satisfactory results. Indian museum people are ever striving to open wider their "door" on an increasingly rich store of knowledge, presented with care, for the benefit of all.

A RARE CHATUR MUKHA LINGA?

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Among the earliest representations of Siva are the Śivalinga in the temple at Gudimallam near Renigunta and the Bhita Sivalinga now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The former, closely resembling the Jaggayyapeta carvings in its pronounced primitiveness and frontality, is very suggestive. It presents Siva as two of the *Ashtamurtis*, as Agni and as *Yajamana*, *vahati vidhihutam ya havir ya cha hotri* as Kalidasa puts it. Siva is here shown against a *sthanu* or post. The post is a sacrificial one of which we have several early examples found in India and South Asia. Siva as a *yajamana* carries the *danda*, *ajyapatra* and the *pasu*. He is *ushnishin* as described in the *Rudradhyaya*—*ushnishine giricharaya*.

The Bhita Sivalinga presents five faces to suggest the five-fold aspect of Siva composing the Sadasiva form—Vamadeva, Sadyojata, Isana, Tatpurusha and Aghora. Again here the Linga is a post and the heads are appended to it.

In the Ellora Cave, where Rāvana is shown cutting his heads and offering a garland of them, it is a decoration of heads for the post that is presented by the sculptor. This brings home the idea of a *garland* of heads, the post decorated by a garland. The *yupa* post in a sacrifice is decorated with *gandha* and *malya*-sandal paste and garland. The Bhita sculpture is also of very early date contemporary with the Gudimallam one.

Recently an interesting Sivalinga was acquired by the National Museum. It is a carving of the Kushan period from Mathura. Here again the Sivalinga is a post, like the sacrificial post, with a flower garland wound round it at the top. There are four heads facing the four directions against this *linga*. The faces are very interesting and are the precursors of the early medieval Sivalinga with four faces to which Bana



No 1 (side one)



No. 2 (side two)

Chatur mukha linga, Kushawa, Second Century A.D. Muthura
(National Museum, New Delhi.)

No. 3 (side three)





No 4 (side four)

Chatur mukha linga, Kushawa, Second Century A D. Muthura
(National Museum, New Delhi.)

refers in his *Kadambari* as worshipped by Mahasveta *chaturmukhan chara-charagurum bhagavantam tryambakam.*

The interest in this Sivalinga is that it illustrates not only the epithet *ushnishin* as given in the *Rudradhyaya* but also other epithets of Siva given therein. The *ushnisha* here is different from the *ushnisha* at Gudimallam. (Fig. 1) The turban in the Mathura sculpture is a more developed and artistic Kushan type, which is a contrast to the simple and primitive type of turban from Gudimallam. The *maulimani* or crest jewel on top of the turban is very elaborately and prominently presented.

The next head as we move clockwise around the Sivalinga is the shaven head. It is an ocular presentation of the epithet *vyuptakesaya cha.* (Fig. 2) The next one shows the face decorated with matted locks hanging freely behind the ears. This answers the description *namah kapardine cha. Kaparda* is the tawny *jata* or matted locks of Siva and this aspect of Siva as described in the *Rudra* is clearly seen here. (Fig. 3)

The fourth presents the face with the hair in curls answering the description *saspinjaraya tvishimate,* as the short tawny curls appear like short tongues of fire. (Fig. 4) Early sculptures depicting Agni show flames issuing from his body, and the famous early Chola Agni from the Madras Museum has a crown of flames. All these represent this aspect of Agni-Rudra. Sankara describes almost exactly these special varieties of headwear, distinguishing types of ascetics, *jatilo mundi lunchitakesah Kashayambara-bahukritaveshah.*

This four-faced *linga* is a very interesting piece presenting the early Vedic concept of Siva, and acts almost as a commentary on the *Rudra,* which glorifies the universal aspect of Siva-Rudra, associating him with everything on earth and every aspect of nature.

Though worn, this Sivalinga is important for the study of early iconography, as such close parallelism with Vedic description is very rare, and this gives us a glimpse of how the Vedic hymns of *Rudra* were so very popular as to be vividly presented thus. At the same time the decoration of the *malya*

and a close resemblance to the *yupa*, the sacrificial post, corelate Rudra and Agni, almost answering the epithets *saspinjaraya tvishimate* etc. in the *Rudradhyaya*.

Early coins described by Professor J. N. Banerji show Siva as *yajamana* with the *ajyapatra* and the *danda*. His association with the *pasu* and the post for *pasu-bandha* is also very relevant, and here is a sculpture corroborating all these associations.

VEDIC COSMOLOGY

S. K. BHARADWAJ

Ever since the dawn of the modern civilization and science, the problem of cosmology—that is the origin of the universe, has been perplexing the Scientists. They also realise that the universe is infinitely vast and one of them H. Jeans, so charmingly expresses this vastness in these beautiful words :—

> "The total number of stars in the universe is probably some thing like the total number of grains of sand on all the seashores of the world. Such vast multitude of stars are wandering in space in company, but the majority are solitary travellers and the universe is so vast that it is unimaginative for a star to come near another one and each is like a ship on an empty ocean and so solitary is each other that one ship may be millions of miles from its nearest neighbour."

It may be due to this vastness and perhaps due to the paucity of our present day knowledge of the physical laws that it may frankly be admitted that their still exists, rather fundamental differences between the points of views accepted by various scientists working in this field of cosmology. We find that various cosmologists can be grouped under two headings, namely those like Hubble, G. Gamow, etc. who believe that the universe had a definite origin, some billion years ago and the present state of the universe has resulted from continuous evolutionary processes—*The hypothesis of beginning*, and others like Hoyle, Gold, Bondi, etc. who prefer to consider the universe as existing in about the same state throughout eternity—*The hypothesis of steady state cosmology.* We would consider these theories briefly so as to give the reader a background of the modern Cosmological ideas.

Steady State cosmology :

The advocates of this theory feel that what actually might have happened five thousand million years ago (when the universe started if it ever had an origin) or what might happen five thousand million years hence (when the universe might end) being beyond the scope of the present observation, some theory must be added to the present day observations in this field. They also frankly admit that no present day cosmological theory possesses any thing like the same degree of validity and precision as do their theories of physics of stars. So with these reservations in mind the moving of the galaxies can be followed out in its theoretical implications.

Against the theory of origin and expansion of the universe, they argue that if all the galaxies are expanding apart, they must once have been packed tightly together in the past. Now, if the galaxies have always been moving away from each other at their present rate, and when these rates are measured from the present observations, one arrives at a conclusion that the age of our galaxy is about double the age of the universe. So according to them, this theory of expansion is tendered untenable.

Again, another flaw in the expansion theory lies to explain the reversal of contraction phase of the universe. One can, they think, understand how an expanding phase can be replaced by a contracting phase but no convincing explanation has yet been put up for how a contracting phase can be replaced by an expanding phase. It seems as if the contraction must proceed until space shrinks to a point and until the density of matter become infinite and so until the universe cease to exist.

This theory of contraction and expansion or a theory of Oscillating universe, raises another important point. Hydrogen being systematically converted into helium within the stars during every cycle, it is obvious that if their was no reconversion of helium back to hydrogen, then by now after an infinity of cycles, there could be no hydrogen left in the universe, which is contradictory to facts. To convert helium back to hydrogen, it would again be necessary for the universe to develope a density in matter as high as the densities we find

in the nuclei of the present atoms. Before this would happen there would be a total annihilation of galaxies and stars. So the theory of Oscillating universe cannot escape passing through this high density and high temperature phase. But direct observations do not show any evidence of such a state.

So, one has to think if a theory can be postulated that does not require the matter to pass through such extreme phases. Frankly speaking restricting ourselves to the present knowledge of the physical laws, no such theory can be found. It is by no means, therefore, certain that "The physists yet possess a complete inventory of all possible fields functioning in the universe. So the possibility is that some new fields, not at present known from terrestrical experiments, might be important on the cosmological scale."

Hoyle says, besides the nuclear field, electromagnetic field and the gravitational fields known so far, there must be assumed another field on which the steady state universe can be based. To this new field he gives the name—Creative field which causes the matter to originate. The question where the originated matter comes from, he thinks this question is at par to the questions asking why is there gravitation, or why is there an electromagnetic field or why is the universe? Such questions, he thinks, enter into the territory of metaphysics. He does realise that the assumption of this new physical law of continuous origin of matter is not shielded from all attacks. He cites the example of disgorging of electrons from a Beta-Degeneration process of neutron, to proton as the origin of electrons, which was not present before. (We would rather call this as Transformation or breaking down of neutron into proton+electron+antineutrino particles, and not originating new matter).

As it has been mentioned before, that matter has different fields of operation, but they have different ranges. The neuclear field though most powerful restricts only upto the binding of the constituents of nucleus, the electromagnetic field influences over a range of size from atoms to a star. The gravitation field is dominant over all sizes from plants and starts upto clusters of galaxies. Lastly the creative field is supposed to be dominant in the largest aspect of the universe—the universal

field. The creative influence, it is thought, is mainly determined by very distant materials. The sun and our galaxy do not seem to have any enhanced influence on our earth. It is further believed that this smooth distribution of the creative influence is responsible for the large scale spatial uniformity of the universe.

The advocates of this steady state theory think that this theory in this respect is more sound. Assuming a general spatial uniformity, it is found that if at a particular time the average density of matter is less than a certain critical value, space will become fuller and fuller of material until the density rises to the critical value, and after which the density is maintained constant. Conversely if average density of matter is initially greater than the critical value the universe would expand so fast that density would fall back to the same value as before and would again be made constant. In this way Hoyle thinks the universe thus keeps up the uniformity with respect to time. But he admits that his theory must not establish spatial uniformity too strongly, otherwise condensation leading to the formation of clusters of galaxies could not occur. But the requirements of the steady state theory are far more stringent, because in this theory we must have to deal with infinitely large number of generations. The population of galaxie must have a reproduction factor from generation to generation exactly equal to one. Besides the number, even sizes of the clusters must be reproduced from generation to generation. The natural question now arises is, what controls the reproduction for each cluster? It is openly confessed now that subtler effects are at work. Perhaps, the central problem facing the expounders of steady state theory is to demonstrate the correctness of this proposition. It is felt by themselves that more penetrating developments are necessary and much yet remains to be done and investigated even about the individual particle of matter, because they hope that these further researches will closely bring the relation of the ultra small to the ultra large. So far man's investigation even of the ultra small ends in mystery and his investigations of the ultra large also ends in mystery.

Steady state cosmologists, however, feel that they stand on

stronger footing then the others who believe in the origin (a matter which occured billion years ago) because their theory is on the observations of the present day happenings.

The Theory of begining of Universe :

This theory is also called the expansion or explosion or 'Bang' Theory.

The advocates of this theory state that one has to make sure if it could be possible for the universe to exist since eternity. The best way to answer this question is to collect the information about the probable age of various parts and features that characterise the present state of the universe.

The matter is made of atoms, one naturally would like to determine the age of these atoms. Before about half a century ago, the atoms were thought to be basic individual particles of matter which could not further be broken down. But when the existance of natural radio-active elements was recognised, the concept changed. These radio-active atoms give out their radio-active energy and decay out. If these radio-active atoms were formed too far back in time, they would have decayed completely by now and disappeared. By working on their this property of radiation, they have worked out the age of these elements and they have found that these elements were formed not more than a few billion years ago.

Similarly one can quite precisely estimate the age of rocks that form the crest of the earth. This also is worked out by the so called radio-active clock method. Rutherford worked on the lead content in various minerals. The decay of thorium for example produces the lead isotope Pb^{208} and thorium decays to Pb^{208}, Pb^{207}, the natural lead being Pb^{204}. The longer the time period, the larger the amount of the lead deposited by any given amount of radio-active substance. So by measuring the relative amount of deposited radiogenic lead isotopes and the lead producing radio-active substances and if one knows the rate of decay, one can calculate the time when a given radio-active deposit was formed.

One can also find out how old are the oceans, by calculating

on their salinity. Rivers from earth bring salt to the sea oceans. The water in the oceans evaporate and the sal more and more concentrated, though very gradually. Div the known total amount of salt at present desolved ir oceans by the known amount of salt brought in yearly by r one can find the salinity of the oceans. It has been founc it increases by one millionth of 1% each century. The pı salinity being 3% and by taking in consideration that in period the earth's surface was flat, the estimated age oi oceans comes to about 3 billion years.

Taking into consideration the position of the moc present as 239,000 miles away from us, and estimating o findings of the British Astronomer, George Darwin, that r is constantly receding from earth by 5" each year, the moor close to our earth about 4 billion years ago.

In finding out the age of our sun, stars, and of the ı way, one has to estimate the sources of energy which kee stars hot and bright. It is an estimated fact that energy ge ted in stars is caused by the gradual transformation of original hydrogen into helium. Nuclear Transformatio hydrogen into helium is known to set free 2×10^{13} calorie each hydrogen atom. Since our sun liberates 10^{26} calories second, it must consume 5×10^{38} atoms (about 800 million of hydrogen every second. Hydrogen constitute about 50 the total mass of the sun which is 2×10^{27} and which ı calculates down to 5 billion years.

There is another more general method of determinin age of the stars and the galaxies which is based on the dist tion of energy among the stars. According to the la Statistical mechanics, the final velocity distribution of must correspond to the so called equipartition of Ki energy. By the recent works done by Gondolatch, it is f that at present moment the equipartition of kinetic eı among stars in the neighbourhood of sun is about 2% ı from the final goal. This would mean that the Stellar sy has been in existence between 2-10 billion years.

So, who prefer the Origin Theory of the Universe a that by whatever method one may investigate the age of

particular part or property of the universe, one always get the same approximate answer—a few billion years old. It looks obvious that one must reject the idea of a permanent unchangable universe and must assume that the basic features which characterise the universe today are the direct result of some evolutionary development which must have begun a few billion years ago.

The Theory :

The theory of the beginning of the universe and its expansion is based on the assumption of a gigantic collapse of primordeal matter. The advocates of this theory admit that they have no information about that early era which might be as distant as 3-4 billion years, since archaeological records pertaining to that past must have been totally obliterated when the cosmic masses were squeezed into a pulp. They advance their hypothesis of this "Big Squeeze" preceded by a collapse and the expansion of the universe, as simply an "elastic" rebound which startad as soon as the maximum permissible squeezing density was reached. Most likely the masses of the universe were squeezed together to such an extent that any structural features, which may have been existing during the "presqueeze" era, were totally obliterated and even the atoms and their nuclei were broken into the elementary particles, as neutrons, protons and electrons etc. from which they are built. This Big Squeeze or the compression naturally generated extreme heat.

During the period of Big Squeeze, the matter must have been subjected to great compression leading to a uniform mass of very high density and high temperature—a period of nuclear cooking so to say. In this period, the conditions throughout the universe closely approximated those existing in the centre of an exploding hydrogen bomb. The whole of the cosmic space was full of high energy of gamma radiation, the mass density of this radiation, greatly exceeded the density of ordinary atomic matter, the temperature throughout the universe was nearly about a billion degree centrigrade. Following this the gas, consisting of the newly formed atoms, continued to expand, which caused its temperature to fall lower and lower. The radiant energy, which at the beginning played a prominant role in the evolutionary process, gradually lost its importance

and by the end of about thirty million years or so, where the temperature had fallen to say ten thousand degrees, it yielded its priority in favour of ordinary matter. During the expansion and so the cooling period, portion of the gas, condensed to form various elements, first those which has high melting points and these elements formed a fine dust particles which continued to float in the space and this dusty gas still exists in the inter-steller space.

When, thus, the mass density of radiant energy fell below the density of ordinary matter, matter took over the leading role in the evolutionary process and it is at this stage when Newtonian gravitational force started, acting between the material particles scattered uniformly throughout the space. The gas when subjected to this great force intrinsically became unstable and broke down into separate giant gas clouds.

They believe that this instability results from the fact that embryonic local condensations took place in the gas from purely accidental causes and this led to large scale condensations in the unlimited space into large clouds and causing almost complete vacuum between them. These clouds are actually the original protogalaxies and these clouds when further cooled down by further expansion, condensed into multitude of much smaller aggregations called proto-stars. These smaller sized proto-stars cooled more rapidly and later on by nuclear reactions, myriades of stars were formed in them. Some of the gas material between the proto-stars was left over in their vicinity and from it sprang planetary systems. The planets, like our earth, were too small to create their own source of nuclear energy, they cooled off fast and developed rocky crust. With the help of the radiation from their respective suns, certain chemical compounds went through an evolutionary process, as yet not understood, by which organic materials of higher and higher complexities were developed—the nacked rocky and higher surfaces of the planets were covered by the "green carpets of woods", animals appeared and later on man was evolved.

Another possible explanation of the origin of atomic species was proposed by a Belgian Scientist—G. Lemaitre, who formulated the so-called Hypothesis of the "Primeval atom" or

better called "primeval nucleus". He suggested that before the expansion started all the matter of the universe was in the state of dense nuclear fluid, forming a giant nucleus similar to ordinary atomic nucleus but of an immense dimensions (a conception of cosmic egg !).

This assumption implies that at the beginning of expansion, the temperature of matter was comparatively low, below the "Critical Temperature" of nuclear fluid so that the thermal motion of nucleus was not strong enough to break the cohesive bond, binding them together in one continuous fluid. When expansion started the original fluid became mechanically unstable and began to break up into fragments of all possible sizes. These individual fragments were rendered to a size of several thousand miles of diameter and to a mass comparable to that of an average star-Lemaitres atom stars.

When the original nuclear fluid broke down to fragments, they must have consisted, it is held by him, exclusively of neutrons and by spontaneous transformation, these original "polyneutrons" must soon have become positively charged and surrounded by electronic atmosphere. The surfaces of these giant nuclei would have been covered by a multitude of miniature pimples or buds which would have separated from the mother's body and flown away in the form of fine spray carrying the nuclei of different heavy elements forming dust and later on of lighter elements as those of hydrogen etc.

One can feel that the picture of creation of the universe whether as steady state theory of Hoyle, Bondi or Gold or as Origin or Expansion theory of Hubble or G. Gamow and others appear to be hazy and based on so many presumptions and assumptions. In the dim pregalactic past, one sees glimpses of metaphysical era. Hoyle and others do not like to attempt to conceive any theory about the pregelactic era because they do not want to enter in the realm of metaphysics which so cannot be called scientific. Those who hold the collapse or "Big Squeeze" and their expansion, they base this early collapse on accidental causes, one naturally would like to investigate other evidences in the creation of the universe.

VEDIC COSMOLOGY

Introduction :

Vedas have not been introduced in the domain of science, though they have been claimed to contain the basis of all the scientific phenomena. They are, perhaps, not even known to the scientific world. There are certain reasons. To know some thing about Veda a little introduction is necessary. Veda means Knowledge. When God created this gigantic machinery of Cosmos, He gave along with it Knowledge about its creation, its working and how to make use of it. It also deals with the purpose of this creation. This Knowledge or Science is Veda, and the lateron works done by ancient sages in this field, as Brahmanas, is called Vedic literature It is from this fountain, Veda, that Knowledge has flowed. The first law giver, the great *Manu*, from whose name human beings are called *man*, mentions in his works *Manusmarti* (I-21) that all the terminological words, Verbs or actions and the ideas are derived from Veda.

The sages and the scientists who understood Vedas, did not advocate imparting their Knowledge by writing books, because they treated Knowledge as a double-edged sword, which if fallen in evil hands, could create havoc. Even Veda, (YAJUR VEDA XL—12, 14), mentions that even he who is absorbed in *Vidya* (Knowledge) can lead oneself to the darkest region of the soul, while the same *Vidya* if properly applied would lead him to eternal bliss. They made their disciples live with them in their Saminaries for years for personal observations and then imparted all Knowledge free.

When this system broke down, Veda became a sort of iron coffer, though full of jewels, the key of which got lost. In coming times, some bolder people had tried to break a chip here and there of the coffer to have a peep in it and wrote whatever faintly or obscurely they could see through. No body had tried to make a duplicate key. So such are the obtainable expositions on Veda-like those of *Sayana*, *Uvata*, *Skanda*, etc. or those of some foreigners. They are actually the vicious glimpses they had in side the Vedic coffer.

Another great obstacle in understanding the Veda is a misconception that Vedas are written in the present known Sanskrit. Vedas have their own language. All those who have tried to write commentaries on Veda have done that through their knowledge of Sanskrit and have not been able to get at the right meanings of them, specially foreigners, like Winternitz, Max-Muller, McDonald, etc. who wrote poorly about them.

Winternitz writes :

> "We hear in the hymas of the Rg. Veda of incest, seduction, conjugal unfaithfulness, the procuring of abortion, as also of deception, theft, robbery etc........."
>
> (H.I L. by Winternitz 1927 pp 67-68).

Ignorance of the Vedic Terminology led them to believe that there was history, stories, wars, and so on in Veda, as if Vedic literature is only mythology ! When Veda means Knowledge and science, how could there be history and mythology in science literature ?

Again it may be made clear that in the whole nomenclature of Veda a noun does not indicate a particular object, each noun is a name given to all those objects which have identical characteristics and properties. It also, sometimes, means a phenomenon For example, *Vayu* in Sanskrit can only mean air, but this word in Veda is the name given to all the objects which have a special character of impulse, because this word is a derivative of the roof *va,* which means impulse. So, in Veda *Vayu* means, rays, electromagnetic waves, gravitation force, air, even nervonic impulses in the body. If Sanskrit scholars will try to translate some of the hymns where *Vayu* is mentioned, as only air, they will be very wrong.

Why Vedas have been neglected by the scientists, the reason lies in the very defective system of education. Science and art have been treated as alien to each other, and so they are never taught together. For the thorough and proper development of the knowledge of a child, in India in the past, both were taught together, they made a beautiful interwoven tapestry of know-

ledge and wisdom. A great poet or an artist if ask(describe a phenomenon of science will naturally describ(a figurative form, describing the various properties as ch ters and emotions. This will naturally look mythology. literature, nay, even the universe is named in Veda as *Kavy* a poetry. Term like *Urvashee* which actually means, (intersteller space, *Vasee*—pervading forces, has been tran: as dancing girl of the heaven. So, thus, not understandir subtilities of the Vedic terms, those commentators expr their opinions about Veda in those hopelessly abhorrent w Every hymn of Veda interprets some scientific phenomenon it is most fascinating to work with the Vedic hymns. It is out, prejudice and pride if one says that one finds Veda as : ocean of Knowledge and one feels regretable why no wor yet been done on them in this light.

Vedic Cosmology :

In dealing with the science of Creation of the universe also mentions the purpose of this cosmos. The universe i created without any object or purpose. So it mentions th the creation and the purpose, there are three fundan and eternal entities—God, the Souls and the matter describes this maxim artistically by a simple analogy thus :

Dva Suparna Sayuja Sakhaya Samanam Vrksham
pari Sasvajate,
Tayor anyah pippalam Svadu atti anashanan
anyo abhi chakasheeti.

(Rg. Veda 1-1(

Meaning :—Two birds with beautiful plumage, associa each other, friendly, rest on the same tree, one of them in(in the fruits of that tree, the other only resides.

The common tree is the matter, the two beautiful bird beautiful qualities and activities, are God and souls, the indulge in the fruits of the matter and the other, God, doe By this analogy Veda teaches the Trinity which is eternal. are some philosophies which believe that universe came t tence by sheer proclamation of God. He said, "Be it sc

it came to existance. Some like Vedantists go so far as to say that God created the universe from His own substance, and the example they give is that of a Spider, who spreads out a beautiful and vast expanse of cobweb from his own body. This view is not in accordance with the teachings of Veda, because "some thing cannot come out of nothing" and this view is even supported by Geeta :

"*Na asato, Vidyate bhavo*" (Geeta II-15)

No being can come to exist from 'non-being'. For example to create a pot, two factors if not three are essential, namely a potter, clay and sometimes instruments as a potter's wheel and a rod, etc. A potter cannot create a pot without the material cause, nor can the inanimate clay create a pot by itself. So to create this huge universe a Creator and a material cause is essential and this material cause of the universe is called matter or *Prakrti.*

Matter :

As mentioned above Veda treats matter as eternal, indestructible, inanimate, inert, unconscious and incapable of creating any thing by itself, like clay, but having the qualities to create. It is, therefore, called *Sat*-real and existing. In this form, it is called *Prakrti.* In this stage it is imperceptible or *Avyakta.* It undergoes evolutionary changes under the influence of some extrinsic agency and creates the manifest universe and this stage is called *Srsti*—the Creation. The universe is not at a stand-still, but even every minutest practicle of it is in constant motion and that is why it is called *Jagnt* or *Samsara,* both of these words mean 'moving'. So the universe is through cyclyes of *Prakrti* (primordial, imperceptible form) and *Srsti* or manifest or created form, and these cycles are endless and eternal as Veda says :—

"*Surya chandramasou dhata Yatha purvam*
akalpayat, divam cha prithieem cha antariksam
atho swah."

(Rg. Veda X-190-3)

This means, that the radiating centres like suns etc. the black planets like earths and the inter-steller and the inter-galacitic space are created again and again as before. So the universe incessantly passes through the phases of creation and dissolution. Veda obviously, therefore, does not advocate the eternal steady state universe. It advocates that there is an origin and an end of the universe. The period of dissolution or inactivity is also named 'Cosmic Night' (*Brahma Ratri*) and the period of creation as 'Cosmic Day' (*Brahama Divas*).

The creation stage, like the present Cosmos, is divided intc Creative period called *Utpatti*, the Steady State of the universe as *Sthiti* and the dissolution period as *Pralya*. These three phases are taking place on small scale every time and in every field even now, but in ultra large scale it will take place wher the whole universe will go into dissolution and then create again. As night runs into the day and the day into night, sc these phases of creation run into Dissolution and the Dissolution into Creation.

Precreative phase of Matter

Book Xth and chapter 129 of Rg. Veda is a famous chapter as regards imparting knowledge of the creation of the universe We quote some of these hymns to show the Vedic view abou this stage.

"*Na asat aseet Na sat aseet tadaneem, na aseet rajo*
no vyoma paro yat
Kim avareevah Kuha Kasya Sharman ambhah,
Kim aseet gahanam gabheerum.

(Rg. Veda X-129-1

Meaning : (*Na asat aseet*) *Asat* did not exist, (*na sat aseet* nor existed *Sat*. (*na aseet rajoh*) nor existed the heterogeny (*no vyoma*) nor expanding or repelling force (*paro yat*) nor the opposite or attracting force, (*Kim avareevah*) what could be a cover (*Kuh Kasya*) like a fog, (*Sharman ambhah Kim aseet* whatever it was, it was pure permeable (*gahanam gabheerum* deep silent motion.

Words like *Sat* and *asat* are technical. They are usually translated as 'being' and 'non-being'. One can put them in modern terms as negative and positive. These words indicate that the matter at that state was as if in a very deep slumber or under a deep anasthesia. The great ancient scientist *Kanada* in his works, "*Vaishesika Darshana*" defines *existance* of an object : "*Kriya Gunavat Samavayi Karanam iti dravya Laksnam*" that is, an object for its being called as "existing", must have (*Kriya*) action or functioning power (*guna*) characteristics or properties and (*Samavaya*) power to combine and create Because matter at that stage did not possess these qualities, so it was as if (*asat*) non existing, and because it was real and existing it was called *Sat*. So this is the conception of the primordial matter that Veda gives.

Again it is mentioned in this connection :
"*Tuma aseet tamasa gulaham agre apraketam*
Salilam sarvama idam,
Tuchchhyena abhavpihitam Yadaseet tapasah
Tan mahina ajayata ekam.

(Rg. Veda X-129-3)

Meaning : (*agre*) at that early stage, (*tama aseet*) it was *tama* (*tamsa gulham*) even deeper and thicker than *tama* (*Sarvama Salilam idam*) it was totally and perfectly *Salilam* (*Tuchchhyena abhavapihitam*) in the folds of that subtleness was hidden every thing and in every direction, (*yadaseet*) whatever existed then (*tapsa*) by developing high potentiality and heat (*tat mahina ajayat ekam*) it created a great cosmos.

The words *Tama* and *Salilam* require an interpretation *Tama* is usually translated by Sanskrit Pundits as darkness and *Salila* as water.

The root meaning of *tama* is to desire. The idea indicated by the use of this word is that though the matter was inert, but she after the infusion or induction of energy into it, developed, as if, a desire to procreate and after, imbibing the energy, started the evolutionary process and from subtleness developed the manifest great creation.

As mentioned before, various physical phenomena are d cribed in Veda in figurative forms to make them ea: understood, we find that matter is exemplified as a female a this fact is more explicitly described in later Vedic literatı like *Brahmanas*, *Upanishadas* and *Puranas*. Just as an ovı of a woman cannot procreate by itself, so cannot mat create the universe.

The next stage in the development of the universe is d cribed very beautifully in the next hymn (Rg. X-129-4).

"*Kamas tad agre samavartata adhi manaso retah prathamam Yadaseet,*
Sato bandhum asati nirvindan hrdi
prateeshya Kavayo maneesha.

Meaning : (*Tadagre*) after this (*Kamah adhi Samavarta* great radiating energy started functioning—(*mansa*) prope directed and controlled (*retah prathamam yadaseet*) the prim: *retah* what existed (*nirvindan*) by unbreakable chain reacti started (*bandum*) binding (*Sata asati*) *sata* in to *asata* (*hr* by the attracting forces (*prateeshya*) by mutual desire (*Kave mansesha*) and this can be done by the wise scientists.

After development of high potentiality and heat, described in the previous hymn, this hymn suggests furtl developments. The analogy given in this hymn is that impregnation of an ovum by the sperm. By *Retah* is und stood semen of a male. The semen contains myriades of ve versatile, extremely motile, agitating discrete entities call spermatozoa and it is these that incite and make union w the ovum and it is only then that the female ovum starts pı creation. *Retah* literally means, violent motion, because it derived from the root *Ri gatow himsayam*, that is a moti with violence. So the hymn describes that these very viole radiating units combine with the primordial uniform liquif matter and cause an incessant process of permutation a combinations, evolving units of various elements. By givi this analogy of sperms in semen, another very importa physical phenomenon is also revealed, that is, the enei which is coming as radiation (*Kama, root Kamu Kant* means radiation) comes out as discrete units of energy like ea

spermatozoan which may form a ray, one running after the other. At another place (Rg. V-59-7) this very phenomenon is put in the following words.

"Vayo na ye shreneeh paptuh... ...."

which means :(*na*) as if these (*Vayo*) flying away particles (*ye*) these (*Shreneeh*) in lines (*Paptuh*) fell or fly away. The analogy is that of geese flying one after the other in line, because (*Vayas*) also means in Sanskrit—a particular bird.

Rotation—The Primary Motion, Creative of Universe.

In the same book X of Rg. Veda chapter 190 hymn this process of rotation for the creation is mentioned as under:

"Rtam cha Satyam cha abhiddhat tapso adhi ajayata,
tato ratri ajayata, tatah, Samudro arnavah."

Meaning : (*Rtam*) rotatory motion (*cha*) add (*Satyam*) real existing primordeal matter (*cha*) also (*tapso abhiddhat*) by intelligent design and developing high potentiality (*root tapa* means *aishvarye, santape* and *dahe*) and extreme heat, (*adhi ajayata*) started the further creation. (*tato*) after reaching this stage (*ratri*) though not manifest but as state of matter which would give out further processes of creation (*ajayata*) was developed (*tatah*) which led to (*Samudra*) collective high motions as waves and (*arnavah*) revolving, rolling high oceanic waves of energy were generated. In simple words, the gist of the hymn teaches that a rotatory motion was established in the primary matter and this combination is the cause of all further evolutionary processes in the creation of the universe this rotation which perhaps weaker in the beginning later on devoloped into oceanic rolling waves in the matter. The first motion created in the matter according to this hymn is rotation and this rotatory motion is present even in the ultra small unit (an atom) or the ultra large planetory system of the cosmos.

Ratri is usually translated as night, but root *ra* from which this word is derived means *to give*. Night too is called *ratri* because after a whole day's hard labour and exhaustion, nigh

generates or gives out energy to the body for the next day.

The next two hymns of this chapter describe further development of the universe.

> "*Samudrat arnavat adhi samvatsaro ajayata . . .*
> *Ahoratrani Vidadhad Visvasya mishto vashee.*"

Those high potential energy waves then (*Samvatsaro ajayat*) laid or generated the seed of universe. (*Ahoratrani*) it later on developed a system of discharging of energy or radiation and to absorb or develop potentiality (*Vishvasya*) the universe (*mishtah*) by further feeding (*Vashee*) was thus brought to manifestation.

Samvatsara is known to mean a year, but actually the word means, that in which every thing resides (*Una Kosha* III-72) a seed in which the whole tree for example exists in the rudimentary form. *Ahoratri* is translated as day and night, but *aha* means what discharges or gives out (*Unadikosha* I-158) therefore radiating out phase and *ratri* as explained above, which gives in or feeds or raises the potentiality—a stage of filling up.

The next hymn mentions that after this the illuminary centres or the generating centres, the cold dark planets like earths and inter-steller and inter-galactic space were created; and this creation is repeated as in the former cycles.

Similar idea is manifest in chapter 184 of Book X of Rg. Veda as:-

> "*Hiranyayee aranee yam nirmanthata ashvina*
> *tam te garbham havamahe dashame masi Sutave*".

(Rg. Veda X-184-3)

(*Ashvina*) the forceful pervading energy (*nirmanthata*) incessantly churned (*aranee*) the rotatory motion (*hiranyayee*) which liberated out the radiant and attracting force and (*te*) they (*garbham*) embryo (*havamahe*) fed by mutual inter actions of give and take (*Sutave*) for the procreation and expansion

of the universe (*dashme mase*) in all the ten dimensions of space.

Here also a rotatory motion, caused by a churning process, is suggested to develop the universe, passing through an embiyo stage.

Atharva Veda (viii-9-13) explains even the fields in which rotation functions:-

"Rtasya pantham anu tisra aguh Trayo gharma
anu reta aguh, prajam eka jinvati urjam
eka rastram eka raksati devayunam."

There are three fields in which rotation functions the rotation showers out *Retah*, the energy particles of three kinds one controls the (praja) progressive generation process, other (*urjam*) developes the high potentiality and the third (*rastram rakshati davayunam*) preserves the creative forces of the universe by creating coordination among them (Mach's Principle?).

Cosmic Embryo—Conception :-

It is a style of Veda that to explain subtle physical phenomena, they are personified for the purpose of explanation, accordingly matter has been personified as a woman. Just as a woman when induced by her husband, gets prepared to conceive for him, similarly when this matter is induced by the energy of an Extrinsic Superhuman Cetana (God) agency, it develops, so to say, a mentality to conceive and develop the universe. This stage of the matter has been called *mahat, Budhi, manas* by Kapila etc.

Another name by which matter is called at this stage is *Apah*, which means matter at a stage which can develop pervasiveness—this is the root meaning of this word *Apah*. Because this word represents the female, matter, this word is given a feminine gender in *Sanskrita* also. In *Sanskrit* it means water. Metaphysically heat and water are called *Agni* and *Apa*. Shatapatha puts it as *"Agnir vai punsah Yosha va apah"*, that is "verily fire or heat is the man and water is the woman". So in Veda these two *Agni* and *apah* are described

conjugating together when ever any process working with heat and the expanding medium is to be described. *Apa* means the medium that can pervade and expand, because water and gas have more power of pervasiveness than solids they are called *Apa*. Another name for this stage of matter is *Salila* which again in Sanskrit means water. This word also means having motion (root is *Shval gatow*) *Salila* is the stage of matter which has developed deep silent, slow motion in it. The words *Apa* and *Salila* (water) indicate that the matter at this stage was uniform and homogeneous and not split up into particles. Some of the modern cosmologists have also conceived this nature of the matter at this stage and have called it as "*plasma fluid*" or fluid or gas.

Once the matter develops this stage, forces of motion develop in it and form the embryo of the universe, a sort of cosmic egg—*Anda*, *garbha*, *Samvatsara*, *Virat* etc. as it has been named in Veda.

Rg. Veda (X 9-1) describes :

> "*Apo hi stha mayo bhuvah tu na urje dadhatana*
> *Mahe ranaya chakshse*".

It means : "Verily it was in *apa* that the (*maya*) kinetic phase of creation was held, at this stage *apa* has not developed the *urja* the high potentiality but it was looking for greater and more powerful motion".

Both in *Rg. Veda* (X-82—5,6) and *Yajur Veda* (XVII—29—30) the following two hymns are present. The first is in the question form and the next is its answer. They deal with the early stages of creation of the universe.—

Question : "*Paro diva para ena prthivya paro devebhir asurair Yadasti,*
Kam svid garbham prathamam dadhra apo yatra devah samapashyanta vishve".

Very many and vast are the effects of the radiations, vast are the products of the cold (neutralized) dark planets or material elements (*paro devebhir asurair yadasti*) great and far

reaching are the effects of the creative forces that exist at present, but the question is, in what did the *apah* make its primary *ovum* held and due to which, later on, the universal creative forces collectively are functioning ?

Answer:- *"Tam it garbham prathamam dadhra apo, yatra devah samagachchhanta vishve, Ajasya nabhow adhi ekam arpitam yasmin vishváni bhuvanáni tasthuh."*

To the question, where did *apah* sustain her primary *embryo* which developed the various creative centres of the universe and which coordinatingly work together, it answers :in the (*nabhow*) navel of *aja* where the origin of the *unit* and the *universe* was made to revolve and it is in this (*Nabhi*) the navel to which all the galaxies, stars and the planets are held to function on their orbits.

There are two words which require explanation—*Aja* and *nabhi*. *Aja* means agitating motion, root is *aja=gatou*. *Nabhi* is derived from the root *naha bandhane*, meaning to bind. In ordinary Sanskrit it means navel or umbilical cord of a foetus by which it is bound down to the mother's womb. The hub of a wheel too is called *nabhi* because all the spokes of a wheel are bound or fixed to the hub. So this word here explicitly explains that the universe with all its planetary system is sustained and bound down to a central motion—the *Aja*.

Again in Rg. Veda X—121—7 it is mentioned :

"Apoha yad bṛhateeh vishvam ayan garbham dadhana Janayanteeḥ agnim."

That is (*apo ha brhatee yat*) surely it was the infinite *apah* (the matter in the pervasive stage) which after developing (*ayam*) centrepetal motion (*Vishvam garbham dadhana*) carried the universal embryo, (*Janayaeeh agnim*) and is generating the radiant energy and heat.

Both in *Rg. Veda* (X—121—1) and *Yajur Veda* (XVIII—4) there is a well known hymn dealing with this cosmic embryo:—

"Hiranya garbhah Samavarttata agre bhutasya jataḥ

patiḥ eka oseet sa dadhyara prthiveem dyam uta imam
kasmai devaya havishavidhema."

It explains that (*Hiranya garbhah*) the radiating and attractin or pulling embryo (*bhutasya jatah*) the genitor of the manifes beings (*Samavarttata agre*) was functioning in the beginnin (*patih eka aseet*) and it alone was the preserver and the gover nor at that state, (*sa dadhara*) it sustained or held (the seed of (*Prthiveem dyam uta imam*) radiations, the solidified, neutrali zed material elements and planets and the inter-steller spac (*Kasmai devaya*) to that creative force (*havisha vidhema*) w should try to understand.

It is (*Agni*) the primary energy which is the cause of thi cosmic embryo as mentioned in the following hymns:

"*Vishvasya Ketuh bhuvanasya garbha*" (Rg. Veda—X—45—(*Agni* (the subject matter of this chapter is *Agni*), the primar propelling energy is, in which resides the universe and in whic (*bhuvanasya garbha*) was laid the embryo of the creation Again:

"*Atma. devanam bhuvanasya garbhah*" (Rg. Veda X—168-4) (*Atma*) constant motion is the seed of the creative force that create the universe.

Atma is usually translated as soul, but *atma* means constan motion, because it is derived from the root *ata satatye* whic means incessant motion. Because soul is animate and has a undying activity in it so it is also called *atma*.

COSMOLOGY ACCORDING TO MANUSMRITI :-

When the great king Manu, the first law giver, was approa ched by many sages and asked about the laws governing th universe and the social ethics, he described the creation of th universe thus:—

"*Aseet idam tamobhutam aprajnatam alakshanam,*
Apratarkyam avijneyam prasuptam iva Sarvatah." (1—5)

The matter in that primordeal state was (*tamobhutam*) as if

complete darkness with no power to synthesis but desirous to create (*aprajnatam*) imperceptible, (*alakshanam*) without any characteristics, therefore, uniform and homogeneous (*apratarkyam*) beyond reason (*avijneyam*) beyond conception and infinite (*prasuptam iva*) as if in very deep slumber (*Sarvatah*) in every respect.

Next he mentioned:

> "*Tatah Svayambhur bhagavan avyakta vyanjayan idam,*
> *Mahabhutadi vrttowjah pradur aseet tamonudah.*" (1 – 6)

After this stage the imperceptible, affluent and self-existant being, to cause a heterogeny in the slumbering matter, created agitation and great pressure which later on developed into (*Mahabhutadi*) great creative energy (*Vrtowjah*) and developed great forces and pressure by rotatory motions. *Vrtta* means a circle, *oja* means great power, that is circulating energy or energy and force developed by revolving.

In the same chapter, Shloka 8th, Manu describes further,

> "*Sa abhidhyaya Shareerat Svat Sisrkshur vividha Prajah,*
> *apa eva Sasarja adow tasu beejum avasrjat.*"
>
> (1—8)

He after well designing, by his own sustainenance, created various processes of generation, but (*adow*) in the beginning(*Sasarja*) created (*apa eva*) the pervasiveness in the matter and (*tasu*) in that (*beejam*) seed or nucleus (*avasrjat*) was laid down and then.

> "*Tat andam abhavat haimum Sahasranshu sama prabham*"
>
> (1—9)

That conjugation (of seed or energy and *apa* stage of matter) developed into a very powerful radiating and attracting or absorbing egg or embryo which liberated thousands of kinds of rays in all directions.

And next:

"Tasmin ande as bhagavan ushitva parivatsaram,
Svayam eva atamano dhyanat andam akarot dvidha."

(1—12)

(*Bhagvana*) that affluent energy (***tasmin ande***) in that egg or th nucleus (*ushitva*) generated heat and developed it (***Pariva sarum***) till it filled the whole space of the egg-shell and (***svayan eva atamano***) by its own working and constant motions (***dhya nat***) and knowledge and design (***andam***) that egg (***ak aro dvidha***) was split up into two poles by Him.

In the next Shloka he deseribes that by the system of deve loping those two poles and by progressive creation, (***divam***) th radiating centres or bodies were created at one pole and th cold neutral material bodies at the other and in between, th space, in eight direction and filled the remaining ***apa*** or th unused matter.

This phenomenon of creating by the system of developin two poles (a hot radiant and kinetic and the other cold o static matter) is also described in Veda. In Veda these tw poles are called arms (***Bahu***) which in Vedic language mean binding forces, and the arms are also called ***Bahu*** because the also bind or hold any thing between themselves. *Yajur Ved* (XVII—19) describes the functioning of the universe by thi system, even after its complete creation as :—

"Sam bahubhyam dhamati sam patatraih dyava bhumee janayan deva ekah."

Meaning : (*Deva ekah*) the unique Creator (*dhamat*) nourishe and throbs the whole universe with energy (***bahubhyam***) b developing two binding arms, (*Dyam*) the radiating source and (*bhumeem*) the created ends, (*patatriah*) by producing ver powerful and striking energy particles. So giving the analog of *bahu* or arms Veda explains that for the flow of energy an to bind any two entities in the ultra small scales like electron and protons or on ultra large scales like radiating sources and th planets, two poles are functioning. We see the same principle o

phenomenon working in nuclear binding, in electro-magnetic fields; even in the family binding, we see the same two binding poles, the husband and the wife.

By using the word *patatriah* Veda clearly indicates that the energy flows as desert particles, because *patatra* in Sanskrit also means a bird, as separate birds, but in Veda *patatra* means violent motion, because it is a derivative of the root *pata gatow* a motion.

Brahmanas and *Upnishads* also give the same version of the origin of the universe, that is the universe started as a cosmic embryo as:—

> "*Apo vai ha idam agre sulilam asa ta akamayat, Ta apo atapyata, tasu tapah tapyamanasu hiranyandam sambabhuva......Shatapatha Brahamanas.*"
>
> (I-6-1-2)

Meaning : In the beginning, verily, the *apa* (pervasive matter) was in a uniform or homogeneous form. It developed a desire to procreate, that got heated and during that heating stage (*heranyandam*) a golden egg that is radiating nucleus (*sambabhuva*) came to existance.

The *Jaimini Brahmana* III—360 mention :-

> "*Apo va idam agre mahat salilam aseet, etas ta apah ta urmayah samasyanta phal phal, tad hiranyam andam samaishat.*"

It also describes that at the very early stage it was infinite uniform pervasive matter, this went to motion, and collectively developed (*urmayah*) highly powerful waves (*phal phal*) they led to expansion and further expansion and this ultimately (*hiranyam andam*) developed into a golden egg or hot radiating cosmic embryo (*eshat*) which was created by motion. The root meaning of *eshr* is *gatow*-motion.

Similarly *Chhandogya Upnishad* describes thus :

"*Asad eva idam agre aseet, tat sat aseet. tat sam abhavat, tat andam nirvartata, sa samvatsarasya matram ashayat, tat nirbhidyata, te anda kapale rajatam cha suvarnam cha abhavatam.*"

(Chh. Up. III-19-1

Here the author, *Yajnavalkya*, gives the sequence that happen in the case of an egg, even before it is formed. He explaine in these words : the matter in beginning was so inert that i seemed to be *asat*, non-existing, then it became *sat* active an it (*samabhavat*) condensed, it (*andam nirvartata*) behaved an functioned like an egg or a huge nucleus, which expande and grew till it filled up the whole egg shell it split up o developed (*andakapale*) in the egg shell (*rajatam cha suvarnam cha*) in to the silvery and the golden parts—the so calle albuminous and the yolk—the gold represents again the h radiating sources and the silvery, the dull black planets, becaus in the next Shloka he says that from the golden part were o are being created *dyow*, the radiations and from the silvery th *prthivee* or the planets like earths. He also says in this Shlok that during the creation from the radiation centres, a soun is produced which is like a peep humming sound. The su is also called *Ravi* and it is a derivative of root *ru shabd* meaning to create sound. Veda teaches thus that in radiatin centres like the sun a sound is also generated during th process of creation.

In *Vayu Purana* (II-7/27, II 49/151) it is mentioned that fron that cosmic embryo or egg :-

"*Andanam tu sahasranam sahasrani ayutani cha*
Eedrshanam tatha tatra koti kotishatani cha." (II-2-27)

thousands, millions, ten millions, ney 10^{14} to 10^{18} smaller egg or nuclei were developed.

Again ;

"*Andanama idrshanam tu kotyo jneyo sahasrashah,*
Tiryag urdhvam adhastat cha Karanasya avyaya atmanah".

Meaning : Wise should know that billions of such eggs or nuclei came to existence in all directions of space and the cause of breaking off and expansion was (*avyaya atma*) the undying constant motion.

There are hundreds of such quotations in Brahmanas Upanishads and Puranas which support this view that the manifest universe has an origin and starts as a cosmic or nucleus which grew by sub-divisions and became fully grown manifest universe. To give more references would be beyond the scope of this small article.

Sequence of Creation :

In Rg. Veda (X-72) there is a beautiful description regarding the sequence of creation. It may be out of place, perhaps, to translate each hymn of this whole chapter, which deals, with this subject, but we would mention here the salient features of its teaching :

In the second hymn the analogy given is that of a black-smith. It says, "in the early periods when creative forces were to be generated, and to convert *asat* in to *sat*, (*Brahmanaspti*) the Lord of the universe, (*Karmara iva*) like a black-smith (*Sam adhamat*) blew well His furnace. The next hymn says when *asat* was converted to *Sat* (*tad asha anu ajayanata*) this led to generate *asha*—pervading forces, (*tat uttanapada*) this in turn raised potentiality (*paribhuh*) all over. (*Uttanapadah bhuva asha ajayanta*) it was this raised potentiality which created the condition of expansion which in turn started creation. Word *Uttanapanda* is translated by Sanskrit pandits as upward raised feet, but this word in Veda means motion of high potentiality (*ut* = high, *tana* = expansion, *pada* = motion (when derived from their respective roots.)

The next hymn further explains that when (*daksha ajayat*) high pressure and high potentiality was created (*dakshat aditih pari*) it led to integration all over by energy particles. *Aditi* is translated here as the daughter of *Daksha* *Aditi* = *a* + *diti*, *a* means not, and *diti* from root *do avakhandane*, to break down. So *aditi* means not to break up or inte.—grate. *Aidit* (the combining phenomenon) is the effect of

Daksha—The High pressure and potentiality. It means after developing high pressure and heat, this *aditi*, the process of integration, starts. Up till this stage the conception of matter is uniform homogeneous like *salilam* or sheet of water.

The next hymn explains the sequence by a beautiful simile.

It says these forces lead to (*bhadra amrta bandhavah*) benificial and undying bindings or compoundings and (*atra*) at this stage (*nrtyatam iva*) with dancing like motion or activity (*teevro renuh*) very violent particles of energy (*apayat*) unite to each other. These high energy particles under pressure of high potentiality and heat started dancing about and united to each other (to make atoms, molecules etc.) It is at this stage that the matter becomes heterogeneous.

In the next hymns it is described how greater and (*bhuvyana* various creations were generated and (*Samudra gulaham suryam a ajabhartana*) high waves and high (*gulaham*) density, *suryam*, system or process of evolution was created. *Sunsam* is said to mean the sun but in vedic terminology it means a process to evolve new things. This word is derived from the root *Shu prasavaishvarye* which means to develop high pressure or growth and then to evolve, or procreate, just as a mother procreates her progeny. She evolves out of her own bony after growing it. This type of creative phenomenon is devoted by this word—*Surrya*. It is inferred, therefore, that the various planets are created out of the substance of the suns. It is actually a transformation of energy, *Kinetic* to the *static* form as if energy at one arm or pole is converted through (*antariksha*) the interactions, to the static or material form, like earths.

Cosmos has been described in Vedas, personified ashte body of a man—'*The Purusha*.' Etymologically *Purusha* means energy pervading and filling the whole body or system, *Yaska* also describes it in the same meaning in his work *Nirukta—Puri shayam*. Just as vascular and nervonic forces fill up the whole body and make it function, so the whole universe is filled with energy forces, that is why it is given the simile of *Pursha* or a person. In the chapter (Yaju Veda xxxi) which describes the *Purusha* it is further mentioned that the universe is so vast that

it has (*Sahasra Sheershah Purushah*) thousands of sustaining centres, (*Shahasra akshah*) thousands axis on which it rotates, (*Sahasra pat*) thousands forms of operations (*sa Sarvatah sprtva* it envelopes all over, (*bhumim*) the creative centres (*atishthat dashangulam*) and function in all ten dimensions. This expanded universe is not all the *Purusha*—the pervading energy, (*Jyayanshcha purushah*) it is much more, (*pado asya vishava bhutani*) the manifest universe is just one fourth (*tripada asya amritam divi*). three fourth is yet in the unmoulded form as radiation or energy, (*Tato virat ajayata*). 'From this primary energy first Virat is generated. *Virat* means in which every thing is present in the rudimentary form, just as every component and characteristics of a tree is present in its seed. So a seed or an egg or a cosmic nucleus was created.

FIVE ELEMENT THEORY

The sequence of creation from *atma*, the incessant energy, to the solids is described in *Taittireeya Upnishad* and this sequence has been accepted by others too. It is:—

> "*Tasmat va etasmat atmana akashah Sambhutah akashat vayu, vayor agni, agner apah adbhyah prthivee, prthivya osadayah, Oshadheebhyo annum, annat purushah, so va esha purusho annamayah.*"
>
> (Valli II, anuvaka I)

Meaning: (*Ataman*) this primary constant motion caused in the inert matter, changes it to a state of *Akasha*—the *akasha* changes to *vayu* and *vayu* produces *agni*, the *agni* produces *apah* which in turn to *prthivee* produces *oshadha* which generates *annum* and this, the *purusha*. *Akasha*, *vayu*, *agni*, *apah* and *prthivee* are the five elements, each being the effect of the former cause. They are wrongly understood to mean *akasha*, as aether, *vayu* as air, *agni* as fire *apah* as water and *prthivee* as earth, *Oshadha* as medicinal herbs and *annum* as food.

To make this sequence more comprehensible we would like to narrate a small episode which took place long long time ago here.

Once, a very brilliant and an inquisitive lad approached a very learned sage and asked him this subtle question of creation

of the universe. Looking to the tender age of the child and the difficult question, he tried to avoid the child. The boy who was a sort of prodigy insisted to know about the creation which was rather upsetting his mind. When the sage felt helpless, he told the boy that before he would answer that subtle question, he would like to test his (boy's) ability of observation and intelligence, and when the lad agreed to that condition he was shown a huge tree standing at a far off distance. The sage asked the boy to go and come running from that tree and at the same time observe what actually happened to him. The child did as was told and when asked about his observations, the child said that for a very short distance he felt nothing except his gentle motions. After running for some more distance he started breathing harder, his heart beating quickened and then felt very hot and that after a while it led to breaking up of perspiration and that was all. He was further told to rest and not to take a bath till told. After some hours when he felt very filthy, because the dust on his body mixed with his perspiration made a sort of film and because he was prohibited to take a bath, the child started rubbing off the pasty thicky material from his body. He was prohibited to take a bath for some days and one day the sage saw him killing lices from his body, and when the boy complained about it, he was allowed to take a good bath and change of clothes and was asked to present himself to learn about the creation of the universe.

On his approaching the teacher, when neat and clean, the sage said "My child, the universe was created in the order you have observed, that is in the very early period of creation, very mild, motion was started in the matter which were even not perceptible and this stage of very gentle motion in the matter is called *akasha*. Then the faster and bigger motions of your body caused greater motions and impulses in your systems' that is the impulses in your nervous, circulatory and respiratory systems, increased immensly, so this stage of impulses is called *Vayu* (because *vayu* is aderivative of root *va-gatow*-impulse). These faster motions generated more heat in you and you felt hot, so *vayu* generates heat stage which is called *agni*. Then when more heat was generated it created perspiration. This liquid and gaseous stage in the matter is called *apah*. Then when the body got cooled off, the perspiration solidified on the surface and became pasty and crusty, this is the stage when

the condensation and solidification took place or when the energy changes to solid static forms, *apah* and this solidified stage is called *prthivee.* Afterwards, when the body further cooled down and filth, serving as food, was deposited on the body, insects like lices, in the form of life, appeared on this solid, cold planets. So in nutshell, my boy this is the order in which the creation of the universe took place. It started a senergy *akasha vayu,* the strong impulses like rays, waves and *agni* heat) and got converted to (*apah* the gases, liquids and solids as *prthivee*) condensed and solidified matter.

This simple example explains that the universe is constituted of the five etements or states of matter, through which it is passing even now on smaller scales, and will pass through these five states in toto when the universe will be totally recreated.

The second phase of cosmology is :—

II. Sustenance of the Universe: "The Sthiti"- the steady state of universe.

When a chick comes out of the egg shell it has not reached its full growth it goes on growing till it reaches the full growth of a cock. Similarly when a sprout breaks through its pericarp and the surface of the earth and comes out as a shoot, it is not the full growth of a big tree, it goes on growing to its full height. All living things, right from a minute virus to say a whale, grow till they develop to full size. Again we know, that they do not grow endlessly. Every one of them has a limited dimension, and after reaching those dimensions, the growth stops. It is not also that once that maximum growth has reached, the decline starts and death comes at once. The phenomenon observed is that after reaching the full growth, the body is sustained in that state for an average age of that spices. Every living being has its specific average age. The average age of man according to Veda is a hundred years-"*Jeevema sharadah shatam*" let each one of us live for hundred autumns. A horse, a dog also have their specific average ages, and till that time the bodies are preserved by the system of preservation or sustainance. On this priniciple the universe, also, after its full

creation and development, has to be sustained and preserved till it completes its life cycle or its age. When we conceive the birth or origin of the universe, we also know that it must end or die one day, because:

"*Jatasya dhruvo mrtyuh*" (Geeta II-27)

which means that the born or created must one day meet its death or end. So after the full growth (*utpatti*) of the universe the next stage is when it has to be kept functioning and sustained. This second phase of cosmos is called *Sthiti*, the steady state.

It has been mentioned before that the fully developed universe has been given the analogy, in Veda, of a fully grown living person—the *Purusha*. Just as each nook and corner or each cell of the living body is filled and pervaded by energy, so is the whole universe filled with various pervading forces. The radical meaning of this word *Purusha* is energy filled creation. God too is named *Purusha* because He, being subtlest of the subtles, pervades every object, even the primordeal matter and the souls. This Vedic conception of *Purusha* or the pervading energy forces, making the universe function, is supported by various Upanishads :

"*Purusha eva idam vishvam Karma tapo brahma Paramrtam*"
Mundaka Up. II—2-10

That is—All (*vishva Karma*) the various efforts, motions and activities (*tapo*) the heat and potentialities (*brahma*) of the universe (*Purusha eva idam*) is all due to the pervading forces that fill the universe.
Again.

"*Tasmad eva etasmat .. ..antar atma pranamayah, tena esha purnah, sa va esha purushavidha eva.*"
(Taithireeya Up. II—2-2)

Besides the material part of the universe, there is (*atma*) the constant motion (*Pranamayah*) which generates the energy and force, (*tena esha purnah*) which fills the material universe *sa va esha purusha vidha eva*) and that is why the universe functions like the body of a living person.

Does not the Bible say:

"and God created man after His image"

But Veda says something beyond—"Has He not created the universe after the image of man, and so called it as *Purusha* the man".

"Just as the body is to be replenished and refreshed, its old cells to die and to be replaced by new ones to keep it young, so is the universe to be nourished and kept in this steady state for its full age by new creations.

Why this universe does not die out soon and is preserved, this question is raised and answered in *Brhadaranyaka* Up. 1-5-20.

Question : "*Kasmat tani na Ksheeyante adyamanani sarvada iti?*" Why does not the universe gets old and its replenishment exhausted, when they are constantly being consumed?
Answer :

> "*Purusho va akshititi, sa hi idam annam punah punah Janayate ...... Sa hi idam annam dhiya dhiya Janayate Karmabhih.*" (1-5-2n)

The *Purusha*, the personified universe (*va*) surely (*akshitih*) is not meant to get destroyed at once. There is a system of re-generation which generates (*annam*) the consumable energy—(*dhiya dhiya Karmabhih*) by means of various motions, which in turn sustain the universe.

There is a hymn in Rg. Veda (VI-16-13) and in *Yaju* (XV-22) which runs as:—

> "*Tvam agne pushkarat adhi atharva nirmanthata, murdhno vishvasya vaghatah.*"

Sanskrit Pandits will translate this hymn as "fire was churned by Atharva (son of Brahma)" and thus will show history in Veda.

A Similar story is also found in Greek mythology, where it is described that during the reign of Zeus, and when gods were fighting in Mecone, Prometheus stole fire from heaven and brought it to the earth.

Words like Zeus and Prometheus are Vedic words but pronounced a little differently, Zeus is *dyows* which means radiations, brilliance and Prometheus is derived from *pramathan* which means churning process. The real Vedic meaning of the above hymn is:

The (*agni*) energy was and is (*nirmanthata*) being constantly generated by churning or rotatory motions (*pushkarat*) from the replenishing raw material of the intersteller and intergalletic space by (*atharva*) force. The universe is (*murdhamo*) bound down (*vaghatah*) by forceful motions. To support the meaning of *atharva* as force and *pushkara* as raw pervading material, we quote ***Shatapatha Brahmana.***

Apo vai pushkaram, prano atharva." (Sh. Bra. VI-4 2-2) verily *Pushkara* is *apah*, the primary pervading matter, and *atharva* is *prana*, the force and energy. It means, therefore, that the universe is being energized by the process of revolving motions which is generated in the primary raw material.

The Vedic words like *praja* and *prajapati* are very significant. They indicate that there is a system progressive generation and this system is to be preserved to create new elements and is to preserve them, for it is essential to let the world live and not die out soon. Even some of the modern cosmologists who believe in the steady state theory have felt the necessity of conceiving a *productive factor*, as the fourth revolution in physics. They believe that to keep up the population of the galaxies to remain equal to one, there must be a production factor for the cosmos to run. Actually every species of living being must reproduce, generation after generation to keep the species existing. The word "*praja*" is composed of *pra*+*ja*. *Pra* is a prefix indicating progressive proces and *ja* means to generate. So also *prajapati* means a system which (*pati*) governs and preserves the *praja* the progressive generation. *Agni*, the primary propelling force and energy, is called *prajapati* as:

"Prajapatish charati garbhe antarajayamano bahudha vijayate,
Tasya Yonim pari pashyanti dheerah tasmin ha tasthu bhuvanani vishva. (Yaju XXXI-19)

It means the primary energy, the *prjapati,* functions or works from within (the nucleus or the ovum) and creates from within its manifestations, in innumerable form. The wise men look for (*Yonim*) origin of the various combinations and degenerations within the nucleus or the seed and they realise that various creations in the world are thus held to function on their posts or orbits. *Yoni* is usually said to mean origin, but it also means conjugation or compounding and separation or breaking up, because the root of which this word is a derivative means mixing and splitting *Yu=mishrane amishrane cha.*

How the cosmos exists and is being replenished, is explained by other very interesting way. It is described like a huge inverted tree which has its roots above and the branches hanging down:

"*Urdhva mulo avaka shakha esho asvatthah Sanatanah*"
(Kathopnishad II-3-1)

and Geeta describes it in a more elaborate way·

"*Urdhva mulam adhah shakham ashvattham prahu avyayam,*
Chhandansi yasya parnani yas tam veda sa Vedavit "
(Geeta XV-1)

Artistically they have explained that the *ashvattha* tree, has its (*mulam*) roots (*urdhvam*) high up, (*adhah*) downwards are its (*shakham*) branches. (*Parnani yasya*) *chhandansi*), the leaves of which are the hymns of veda, (*yas tam veda sa vedavit*) who realises or knows this, knows the Vedas.

But the real Vedic meaning is:

(*Mulam*) the binding and growing forces exist in (*urdhvam*) high potentiality, (*adhah shakha*) suspended are the planets in

space. (*chhandansi*) coverings like various fields of energy are the (*parnani*) the replenishing centres—or forces, and he who understands the functioning of the universe in this light, really know the cosmos. The various technical words used here require a little interpretations :

Mula is a derivative of the root ***mun bandhane*** or of ***mula-rohane*** and ***Pratishthayam***. So meaning of this verb *mula* is to grow and to bind or hold fast. The root of the tree is also called *Mula* for its growing and holding and binding causes. The etymology of the word *Shakha* is "*Khe shete iti shakha*" (*Nirukta*) , that is, any thing which hangs or is suspended in space is *Shakha*. The branches of a tree also hang in space so they are *Shakha*; but when describing the cosmos, the suspended plants etc. are all *shakha* in this meaning. *Paranani* is usually translated as leaves, but the root meaning of this word is, which replenishes or feeds as *Piparti, palayati Purayati iti parnam* (*unadi*). The tree replenishes its body through their leaves, every botanist knows it. Trees take the gases from the atmosphere and under the influence of sun rays synthesize various substances in their leaves, like chlorophil, carbohydrates etc. and store these in their bodies. So it indicates that in universe various planets are like leaves, which replenish the Cosmos by their motions etc. *Chhandansi* which are translated as Vedic hymns, actually mean coverings, the fields of forces, because the *chhadi* from which this word is derived means to cover all round (*chhndi Samvarne*). There are various forces like gravitation, electromagnetic forces etc. which have wide net work of fields in space covering the planets.

The name given to the tree is *ashvattha* which again is extremely scientific and disclose a fundamental principle on which the cosmos stands. The word is composed of *Ashva* and *stha*. *Ashva* means fast motion, or ordinarily it means a horse, which also is called so, for his fast race. Word *stha* or *tha* means to stay. So this word *Ashvatha* (name given to the cosmic tree) means existence or susteinance of the universe depends on fast motion in its every fields, in the ultra small and ultra large scale, because it is rightly said what is happening in a unit is happenings in the universe— "*Yad pinde tad brahmande*." So the moment the motion in the universe will

stop, the universe will crumble down or disintegrate. All this is explained by this one world *Ashvattha* which means in short that the sustenance of the universe is based on motion.

Figuratively and artistically the three phases of the universe—the creation, the sustenance and the dissolution are described to the governed or controlled by *Brahma, Vishnu* and *Shiva*. According to Pauranic thinking *Brahma* creates, *Vishnu* preserves and *Shiva* destroys the universe. Not actually understanding these analogies, people visualised *Vishnu* etc. in persons and started worshipping them in temples—*Vishnu* as god, who preserves the universe. As a Vedic term, *Vishnu* means *pervasiveness* because it is a derivative of root *Vislr vyaptau*, which means pervasiveness. There are several entities that have the penetrating and the pervading properties. They all are *Vishnu* in Veda. Therefore, the nuclear force, the electromagnetic field, the gravitational force, the cosmic rays etc. are all *Vishnu*. According to Veda, therefore, the universe in all scales is preserved by the pervading forces. This is the real meaning when it is said *Vishnu* preserves the universe. This *Vishnu* has also been called in Brahmanic literature as *Yojna*. "*Vishnur vai yajnah*" says *shatapatha*. By *yajna* the conception is a sort of fire worship. They think *Yajna* means—making fire in a receptacle, and offering oblations to create incense and recite hymns in prase of fire or same other god ! This is very wrong idea about *Yajna* *Yajna* in reality means any performance done jointly for a good common cause. The root, from which this word is derived, is *yaja deva puja Sangati Karna daneshu*. It means, a high mutual regard, or attraction, (*Sañgati Kārma*) union, or coordination and *dāna*—offering or creating something good. So any joint or coordinated effort, done with an intention of doing maximum good to the maximum is called *Yaṇja* in Vedic language. The suns, the stars, the air, the clouds, the various rays, and so on, coordinatingly functioning in this world are performing *Yajña* in the light of this meaning, and they are actually doing so much good in the universe. These coordinate and joint actions of these things, Veda says, is all due to *Vishnu*, the various pervading subtle forces functioning in the world, and it is these forces which are preserving it. *Atharva Veda* (xiii-1-55) mentions that it was this *Yajña*, the system of coordination, which was established first and which led to the creation of the whole manifest universe.

The text is "*Sa Yaañah prathamo bhūto bhavyo ajāyata Tasmāt ha yajna idam Sarvam...........*" This system *Yajña* was the primary most thing which was established and all this (universe) is created by this. Geeta also reproduces this fact in the following words.

"*Saha Yajñah praja Srashtvā purovācha prajapātih*" (III-10) *Prajāpati* the system of preservation of the productive factor, created this cosmos along with *Yajña.*

The preservation of this universe is elucidated in an other way in *Brhadāranyaka Upnished* (II-3-10)

"*Dve vāva brahmano rupe. mūrtam cha amūrtam cha, martyam cha amrxtam cha. sthitam cha yat cha, sat cha tyat cha.*"

Truly the universe exists in two forms. (*Mūrtam cha amūrtam cha*) with form without form, or with dimensions or without dimensions (*martaam cha amrtam cha*) moulded form and the unmoulded or raw form. (*Sthitam cha yat cha*) static and the kinetic, ((*sat cha asat cha*) real or manifest and the subtle, the invisible or imperceptible. All these adjectives are only to express the two forms in which the universe exists. The energy, the kinetic phase and the neutralised stable material form, these two forms have also been described as the arms or poles, the *dyāvā* and *prthivee* and in between these two exists the *antariksha*—the fields or space in which various interactions of energy take places on all scales.

In all the above various ways, the Veda explains that the sustenance or steady state of the universe depends on the fundamental and basic pervading, coordinating high potential forces of energy and thus the universe feeds or replenishes itself by its various motions, as says *Aitareya Up.* II-1.

"*Ātmani eva ātmānam vibharti.*"

The cosmos feeds itself by the process of *ātmanā*) constant motions created in itself.

PHILOSOPHY OF AUM (OM)—another way Cosmology explained.

God is being called by very many names in each language- He is called by so many names due to His possessing so many attributes ; for example, He is named as Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent, Holy, Blissful and so on. It is unanimously agreed here that out of hundred and one names given to Him, the best and the most appropriate name is '*Aum*' or *OM* The natural question arises why it is so ? The reason is simple, each other name explains one specific attribute He possesses. '*Aum*' is a symbolic name. It is like a mathematical or chemical formula. For example H_2O or $(a+b)^2$ may mean nothing to a layman but to a chemist or a mathematician such formulae represent very many dogmatic principles working in physics, mathematics or chemistry. Great many laws of physics and mathematics—even theories of Einstein etc.—are represented by these simple letters. Similarly, *Aum* represents various stages of cosmos and also indirectly its Creator. This word *Aum* is written in Sanskrit script as (ओम्) which when split up is written as अ (A) उ (U) म (M) & (्) that is, it is composed of 4 symbols. Now each symbol represents each stage the creation of the cosmos. In describing them we start from the last symbol (्) which is placed at the unit position in Arithmetic.

1. (m) This tail like symbol or a little dot represents just an existence with no shape or characteristics. This is the stage of the primordial matter, the small dot or tail just indicates that the universe was very imperceptible, a sort of non-existing, with no activity, no specific characteristics, but because matter did exist (as real) it is shown through just an imperceptible dot. So this is the stage of the matter called by so many ways as *Tam* or darkness or non-existing *asat* etc.

2. *The next letter is* (म) *or M.*—It is the mental stage or stage of designing. Just as a technician before he starts making or inventing a thing, first thinks and designs in his mind the shape, form, function and utility of an object he wants to make, so also, when God or some Super human Agency besides the inert, dead matter, infuses energy in this, the slumbering, inanimate matter due to His goaded guidance and knowledge

goes into activity and starts, so to say, a mental desi
the universe. It just obeys the order of the master lik
vant, as described by *Kapila* and is called ***Buddhi*** or
gence. It is quite obvious that the dead, inanimat
obeys the guidance of an Omniscient Lord, otherw
example, it could not design so beautiful a universe whi
the modern scientist cannot clearly understand, even its
creation like a cell or an atom, completely. How an u
gent matter would make, for instance, so beautiful he
and stelligorm crysts of snow—which unite exactly at a
of 60° and make an appearance of exquisite beauty
natural things seen on this earth, lovely in shapes, colc
scents, various leaves, flowers and fruits, puzzle the ph
the chemists, botanists, zoologists etc. How could a
mate unconscious matter create all this? But instigate
Omniscient Master it goes to design the universe.

3rd letter (उ) *or U*:—This is the stage of real activ
universe is put on the anvil and moulded up, a
now it is being done comparatively on smaller scale
being created to make up its deficiencies, caused by its w
tear. Just as we see it in one's body—fresh cells are bei
ted for the worn out parts, so fresh conversion of raw
is taking place.

4th letter is (अ) *or A*:—It represents the universe which
created and in full swing. This is the stage in wh
universe is passing at present and it is to be sustained
condition for its full life cycle. This is the steady state
universe.

Because this work *AUM* or a formula, expresse
phases of the creation and sustenance of the universe a
us the indirect cognizance of its Creator, this name is t
the most appropriate and the noblest.

III. *The Dissolution of the Universe* :—The death of
and the planets.

It is a dogmatic truth that whosoever is born wil
die, or whatever is created will break down one day soc

later. *Geeta* also puts this as :—

"Jatasya dhruvor mrtyur, dhruvam janma mrtasya cha."
(Geeta II-27)

which means that death is certain of him who is born, and so certain is the birth of the dead. Similarly, anything that is created, must meet its end one day. On a smaller scale, this creation and destruction is taking place at all times right in the substance of even an atom or a cell. Death is an essential phase of creation and life. Just as the phenomenon of Preservation of the universe is personified as *Vishnu*, so also the phenomenon of Dissolution and destruction of the universe is conceived in the person of *Shiva*. *Shiva* actually means blissful. *Shiva* is supposed to govern and bestow Bliss, and at the same time he is supposed to be the Destroyer of the universe. It is, therefore, very interesting to note how and why these two opposing phenomena of Bliss and Dissolution, could be conceived in one entity. This discrepancy is underlined by a philosophy which is very true. The truth is that the end or death is blissful and essential after a specified period. A fertilised ovum grows in the womb of a mother. The pregnancy grows and after the specified period (which varies in different living beings), that pregnancy must terminate, and it is essential and only then it is blissful both for the mother and for the foetus, otherwise it will endanger the life of the mother who is creating and carrying it.

We also find in the living body, a system, pervaded in the whole body of causing death of cells etc. after a specified time. The cells die and give place to new ones. Sometimes we find this system of destruction is disturbed at a certain part of the body, with the result that more and more new cells are generated at that part, while the old ones do not die. It obviously causes a Knot of cells there and this in time assumes the form of a *growth* or a *tumour*. If this growth is too rapid, it starts passing around and killing the surrounding tissues. This rapidly growing tumours is called malignant growth and is named cancer or sarcoma etc, the growth which every one fears. These growths are formed only because the body at that part forgets or losses its power of destruction of the old cells. Such examples, therefore, prove that destruction of what is created is

blissful, after a specified period or its age.

On the same principal, the cosmos, after it completes its life cycle has to die or get degenerated in to its cause. This cosmic Dissolution is called *Maha Pralaya*. *Maha* means total or universal and *pralaya* which is composed of prefix *pra* and root *laya* which means, complete melting out or disintegration into subtler form. At the time of creation from the material cause, the primordeal matter, *akasha* was generated which produced *Vayu* which in turn *Agni*, and *Agni* generated *apah* and *apah* the *prthivee* : so this order is reversed at the time of Dissolution of the universe and then the matter will go into its inactive and slumbering state. This period is called the Cosmic night or *Brahma Ratri*.

The Atomic Theory of Kanada and Gotam :

The greatest discovery of human thought is the realisation of a link between cause and effect. The evolution of science is based on the implicit faith in the laws of causation. The science seeks the cause or causes of a particular phenomenon. *Kanada* was, perhaps, the first attempt to explore a relation between cause and effect, which was modified by *Kapila* (the author of Sankhya school of philosophy). *Kanada* was the expounder of atomic theory. An atom is called *Kana* and *adi* means to bind. He believed that the creation of the universe was due to the conjunction of atoms, so he was given the name *Kanada*—the combiner of atoms.

MATTER :

He conceived that the primeval matter is composed of atoms, which are necessarily supersensual. That is why the existence of these, by some, got questioned. He argued that if the atoms or *parmanus*, as he called them, are not perceptible it need not imply their non-existence. The non-perception according to him of anything is due to six causes, that is, absence of space between the object and the organ of perception, as an eye when being too close (an object very close to the eye cannot be well seen), also being too far off, absence of the agency by means of which a thing is perceived (as absence of light for sight, air for sound etc.), weak organ of perception,

and poor efforts or knowledge. These are the six causes due to which perception may be absent

The characteristics of atoms (*parmanu*=*param*=extremely *anu*=subtle).

1. They are the material cause of the universe.

2. They are the eternal and indivisible.

3. They are supersensuous for want of magnitude, have specific attributes.

4. They differentiate one from the other after undergoing internal changes—*Antyavishesha*, and after undergoing internal change, each develops specific attributes which are of four kinds—*vayu*—radiation, *agni*—propelling energy of motion and heat and light, *apah*—perversive substance like liquids, gases, etc. and *prthivee* or condensing and solidifying into heavy elements. So four kinds of elements are produced from them.

5. These, atoms by themselves, cannot produce anything because otherwise, due to their eternal character they would involve a continuous process of evolution.

The measurements of the atoms are different. They are of 4 dimensions, *Anu*—small, *mahata*—large, *deergha*—heavy and *Hrasva*—light.

Atoms and Motion

To make a composit (*avayavee*) from *parmanus* or atoms, (*Karma*) motion is required which is the cause of conjunction and also disjunction. The cause of the motion is always non-material (*asamvayee*) such a motion is very essential both for production and destruction of sensible world. The universe is undergoing changes, and these changes are brought by motions. According to both *Kanada* (the author of *Vaisheshika*) and *Gautam* (the author of *Nyaya shastra*) motion (in atoms) is not

intrinsic but comes from without, so, either through efforts (*prayatna*) in the case of individual destruction or through Divine effort in the case of universal destruction, a motion is produced in the objects and through a regular process, the motion brings about destruction, so that all the non-eternal objects are ultimately reduced to various *paramanus* through motion. These atoms (*parmanus*) remain, during the period of dissolution (*pralaya*), separated from each other, so that they cannot bring into existence any product, till the commencement of the cosmic order sets in. Some believe that, even during this period, there exists a sort of motion which is non-productive of any conjunctions. It is caused in the *parmanus* by the first *shock* (*Samkshobha*) or extreme pressure (*Noda*) causing their destruction. This shock or pressure produce motion in the *parmanus* and this motion persists even during the state of dissolution, in the form of, one could say, atomic vibration. It is said that this internal motion, though too weak to conjugate, is to work the time limit (*Kalavachchheda eka prayojanam* I.P. page 333). The so-called intrinsic motion of the atoms, being too feeble for the recreation of the universe and for the regrouping or combining of atoms, another stronger motion is required. This motion, he says, is to be had like all other motions from some Cetana agency, because it is not possible for an individual soul to produce such a cosmic motion. So we are, therefore, constrained to assume the presence of a Superhuman power, Conscious and capable of producing such motion.

There are some modern scientists, too, who are also constrained to realise the existence of such Omnipotent Agency, who only could give the first kick to set the creation of the universe rolling We quote here the words of Ira M. Freeman, who writes in her work Modern Introductory Physics (1949) page 27 :

> "As far as we can tell, the ultimate state of the universe may be one in which the whole vast ocean of energy, is at one level, with no possibility of any other change unless some agency, we know nothing about at present, act to "wind up" the mechanism again."

This assertion of the scientist also indicates that this sen-

suous universe after dissolution will come to a state of balanced forces, having no power to procreate by themselves, unless that equal level of forces is again disturbed by some extrinsic agency.

Kanada and others believed that though there seem to be two motions created in the *parmanus* (atoms) the intrinisc and the extrinsic, yet, when closely observed, both come from without, the only difference being in time.

The Purpose of the Creation of the Universe :

As mentioned before, Veda describes God, souls, and matter as eternal entities. The souls enjoy the fruit of the cosmic tree and not God. Souls being eternal their efforts and actions, good or evil, are also eternal. After the dissolution of the universe, when the time of fructification of their deeds mature, under the comulative influence of this, the will of God, which is eternal, becomes, as it were, creative and immediately the *parmanus* group themselves under His guidance. The initiation of motion in the atoms is attributable to the efforts of souls quickened or helped by the Divine Will. The purpose of creating the universe is to let the souls reap the fruits of their deeds, and so by their repeated efforts to improve themselves and obtain a perpetual Bliss—The Salvation.

Age of the Universe :

Every created thing has its specific age. The universe too according to Veda has a specific age. There is a chapter in *Atharva Veda* (VIII-2) which deals with ages of various phenomena. By one hymn it describes the age of the universe as :—

"*Shatam te ayutam ha ayanan dve yuge treeni chatvari Krnamah*"

(Atharava Veda VIII-2-21)

According to this calculation, the age of this created phase of the universe (that is of cosmic day) is 4,320,000,000 years. The period of dissolution—the cosmic Night—is also of the same period. One cosmic night and day is 8,640,000,000 years long. There is a little more elaborate calculation about this,

given in *Manusmrti* (1—69 to 73). Manu divides the co day into fourteen *Manvantars* each of which consists of sev one *chaturyugees*. Each *chaturyugee* is sub-divided into *yugas*. The first and the longest of *yugas*, the *Satayu*ᶦ *Kratayuga* is of 1,728,000 years duration, the next *treta* 1,296,000 years, third *Dvapara* of 864,000 years and the *Kalayuga* of 432,000 years. The sum of these four *yugas* m a *chaturyugee* of 4,320,000 years. One thousand of *chaturyugees* make a cosmic day, which also again come 4,320,000,000 years.

In India, in the past and even now, a day to day cale is being preserved since the creation. It has been a cu here that whenever a ceremony of importance, as a coron: of a king, marriage, birth of a child etc. take place, it is (from the creation of the universe. Family priest on that · sion recites the day, the time to the seconds, of the pe manance of the ceremony. The date is not counted from era of a king, but from the creation of the universe. recitation is called *Kalpa recitation*. *Kalpa* means the cre of the universe. According to that calculation this 1967, is the 1,960,853,067th from the date of creatio 2,359,146,933 years are yet to pass before the cosmos will its death. The reader can well notice that according to calculation, the universe has not yet reached its midday.

The Vedic Theory of Relativity of Motion

Near the close of the last century an Austrian th E. Mach conceived the central theory of relativity. He vi the whole universe as one unit; and he advanced the idea a motion of rotation of a planet or even the blowing of v on our earth, are all relative to the surrounding rot: motion, because every planet is revolving and so every mo is relative. He said "it seems preferable to say that, th not rotation of the earth relative to any one body, or one particle to another particle that is decisive, but that : average rotation has to be determined, a rotation average some manner with respect to the material in the univ In such an average we may expect that material at great tance from the earth will dominate. He goes so far t that what makes the air blow on our earth, for exampl

is rotation relative to the really distant material of the universe, material as distant as 4021 miles away." This theory called Mach's principle. Einstein gave precise mathematical expression to this principle and it is called Einstein's theory of Relativity.

This Mach's principle or Einstein's theory of relativity may be new to the Western thought, but Veda, as mentioned before, describes the whole universe as one unit in the form of *Purusha*, or the body of a person, as one totality. In the body there is a central pervading energy which causes each unit of the body, a cell, an organ, to function in relation and coordination with other cells or organ. A far lying tiny pitutiary gland at the base of the brain, for example , influences even the generation of sperms or ova in the testies and ovaries besides its other influences. Veda by exemplifying the universe to the functioning of the various parts of the body as one unit, clearly teaches the relative influence of the rotatory motions of various planets on each other. As quoted before (*Rtam cha Satyam cha* .....), the matter was conjugated in the beginning with *rtam*, the rotatory motion. Thus the theory of relativity is nothing new to Vedic conception. The whole theory is explained by the word *Purusha*.

Again, there are chapters in *Atharva veda* (VI—87, 88) the *devata* or the subjective matter which is "*Dhruva*". The root meaning of this word is *gati sthairyayoh*—that is motion, but steady in relation to others. The pole star is also called *Dhruva*, though it seems to be steady and fixed relative to other stars, but it is actually in motion. This phenomenon of relative fixity through motion is put in this one word *Dhruva*.

We quote here one hymn from that book :

"*Indra etam adheedharat dhruvam dhruvena havisha.*"

(VI—87-3)

Meaning : (*Indra*) the high potential forces (*adhedharat*) sustained (*etam dhrum*) the steady relative motion of this (*Dhruvena*) by steady relative motion of others (*havisha*) by mutual relation or action. In simpler words it means that the steady motion of one object is sustained by the steady motion

of other, acting relatively, and this is being done by very high potential forces. In ultra large scale it comes to mean that the universe is being sustained by the mutual steady relative motions of each other, caused by the high potential energy pervading the cosmos.

Again Atharva Veda (VI—88·3) describes it as :—

"Sarva dishah sammanasah sadhreecheer dhruvaya Te Smitih Kalpatam iha."

(*Sarvadishah*) in all fields (*Sammansah*) by perfect balance, (*Sadhreechee*) sustenance *dhruvaya* by means of steady relative motion and (*Samitih*) coordination (*Kalpatam*) is created (*iha*) for this purpose. That is for the purpose of sustenance and mutual coordination, a balanced steady relative motion is and should be created.

The above two hymns also describe the system on which the whole universe is relatively connected and functions as one unit; every star or a planet, ney, even galaxies are related to each other like the various organs of the body. Organs like brain, liver, heart, spleen, kidneys and bone marrow etc. are all like huge galaxies in the body, each consisting of billions of cells which function like billions of stars in the galaxies, each doing its job to make the body live. So the Vedic words like *Purusha, Dhruva* etc, explain the phenomenon of Mach's principle of central theory of relativity or the theory of Einstein's of relativity, rather improved as suggested by Hoyle. The universe is called in Veda by the name of *Jagata* or *Samsara*. Both of these words mean that the universe is in motion and not static. *Samsara* mean that every part of it is in pro per motion, and the motion is constant, as long as the universe exists.

Paradox of Infinity :

Some cosmologists, like Lemaitre, think that the creation of the universe started with a finite matter, while others believe that it is infinite. According to Veda matter is infinite, though in creating the universe one-fourth of it is only used and three-fourth of it remains as unmoulded, as reserve. On this prin-

ciple, Veda also advises that in any field of action, even in commercial propositions, the enterprise, if it is run on one-fourth of its financial resources, that enterprise will never fail, because it points out *"Devasya pashya Kavyam na mamara na jeeryate"* Behold! This artistic and beautiful cosmos created on this principle neither decays nor dies out soon.

The ancient scientists and thinkers of India realised that the matter is infinite and so is the universe. Realising the paradox of Infinity of the universe, one of the very learned sage *Yajnyavalkya* described it in ecstasy.

> *"Purnamadah purnam idam purnad purnam udachayate,*
> *purnasya purnam adaya purnam eva avashishyate."*
> (*Brhdaranyaka Up. V.21*)

He cried out in trance. "That is (*Puranam*) infinity, this (*Puranam*) is infinity (*Purnat*) from infinity (*udachayate*) rises (*purnam*) infinity. (*Purnasya*) from the infinity (*purnam*) if infinity (*adaya*) is taken out (*purnam eva*) again infinity (*avashishyate*) remains. The paradox of infinity he, in short, realised is, *infinity minus infinity is infinity*. That is the vastness of cosmos and its Creator, they visualised in trance.

Epilogue :

The modern cosmologists have no one view about the origin and the functioning of the universe. Those who believe in the steady state theory of cosmology, actually one is constrained to say, that they like to bypass the problem of the origin of the universe. They argue, however, that science bases its theories on observations, and because nobody knows what actually happened billions of years ago, when the universe could have been created, or what would happen billions of years hence when the universe is supposed to die out, one would not like to depend on arbitrary conditions. They too are, however, frank to admit that though they have conventionally proved and observed what is happening on a small scale in their laboratories, yet they know that there are certain laws of physics, that have not been discovered by experiments in laboratories and whose relations to the field of atomic physics is not yet understood. For example there is the law of

gravitation. They feel that when they come to study the phenomenon on the extragalacitic scale, they arrive at a situation where their locally derived knowledge crumbles down. There are many problems, therefore, yet to be explained and explored before such theory of steady state cosmology can stand the test.

Similarly, there are others who believe that the universe has an origin, but they advance a theory that the creation started by a sudden collapse in the primordial matter. This gigantic collapse caused a great squeeze, which raised the density of the matter to the maximum and then like an elastic "rebound", the universe started to expand. The expounder of this sudden collapse theory have yet to put up an explanation as to the initial cause which caused the collapse. By saying it started accidentally is not a scientific and satisfactory explanation. The inert, unconscious matter has no power to start a stir in itself and start to design and create the universe.

Vedic cosmology lays its foundation on an eternal Trinity—an eternal, inanimate, unconscious matter, animate, conscious extremely tiny individual souls, and an Eternal Omnipotent and Omniscient Being (God). The matter though eternal, being inert, cannot by itself initiate the creation. It is also beyond the power of the tiny souls, which though eternal and animate, to cause such cosmic motion in the matter. So one has to depend on an Eternal, Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Conscious power who only could produce a universal motion in the matter, which under His guidance and dictates, like a servant, starts the creation of the universe. Vedas do not believe in accidents or chances. Vedas advocate the essentiality of an extrinsic source of energy, to incite and provoke the dormant matter. The process of creation of the universe is exemplified as a process of generation of embryo or an egg after the conjugation of a male and a female element. The matter has been described as a female and when the Divine will incite the matter, its balanced forces are disturbed, different potentialities and pressures are created, and thus provoked, the matter under His guidance and design, starts creating the universe. The matter, the female, thus when conjugated with the infused energy sperms, creates a radiant cosmic embryo or an egg-called *Brahmanda* (cosmic ovum).

This ovum, in due course of time, developes, like in human beings, into a foetus, a child and then to a fully grown person *Purusha*—(the universe—filling the whole vastness of space).

After developing its full growth, this universe is nourished and made to live in this state, for its specified age. This is the stage which is called steady state of the universe, and the cosmologists like Hoyle and Bondi refer to this state and base their observations on. It is on the observations made on this state that they have expounded their theory and because the age of the universe being too long as compared to an infinitesimal span of human life, the cosmic age seems to be eternal and they think that the manifest universe will remain so for ever and so they call their theory as steady state cosmology.

But just as every thing which is born or created, after passing an average or specialised period dies or is destroyed, so this universe will not remain like this for ever but will disintegrate and pass off into its primary cause—the primeval matter. Veda even mentions the age of the universe which according to it is 4,320,000,000 years, Veda specifically mentions that, just as in the body of a living person, all organs can jointly and coordinatingly function and the body enjoys a healthy life due to their comulative actions so also this cosmos is like the body of a person—*Purusha* and billions of stars and galaxies in it are its organs and they all move on their fixed orbits and generate energy and forces jointly as one unit, and thus make the universe live its specified age. The Veda teaches that the universe is not static, every particle, even in the minutest conceivable form is in a constant motion and the motion is *Rtam*, the rotation and because it is in constant motion, it is called *Jagat*. The first hymn of chapter XI of *Yajur Veda* mentions :

"*Eesha vasyam idam servam yat kinchit jagatyam jagat.*"

(*Yat kinchit*) whatever (*Jagatyam jagat*) in this moving universe is made to move and is created (*Eesha Vasyam*) is the abode of a governing and pervading force or energy.

This points out that the universe is sustained by motion which makes it roll on in cycles of creation and dissolution.

One strongly feels that it is very wrong to call the Vedas, as literature of history and mythology, and those who see such things in Veda, show extreme ignorance of their knowledge of Vedic terminology and style. Each hymn of Veda indicates physical (*adhidaivika*), metaphysical and spiritual (*adhyatmika*) aspect of the universe. One can boldly say that it is not the paucity but affluence of scientific knowledge described in Veda. The only unfortunate aspect about Veda is that they have not been explored by scientists at all. One is sure that if an honest attempt is made by scientists, on its terminology, Veda can soon prove to be a great help in all fields of science and will unfold the various intricate mysteries and problems that are yet to be explored. One would, therefore, beseach every scientific minded person to make an unbiased and honest approach to this Book of Knowledge called *Veda*, which has been so wrongly and unfairly looked upon as a literature of history, geography, and mythology and jugglery. A few glimpses of the scientific aspects of this literature, which the reader might have appreciated through these lines, is only a sample. One hopes that a small article like this, on such a vast literature, cannot be expected to provide more than a sample, but it is expected that this might provoke some reader in this direction, and the writer will feel that his attempt has been a success

SELF-RELIANCE IN INDUSTRY

V. K. R. V. RAO

The draft Fourth Five Year Plan sets out for the first time the connotation of the term "self-reliance". In quantitative terms, self-reliance has been equated with "complete elimination of the balance of payments gap during the Fifth Plan period, and complete elimination of dependence on external credits during the Sixth Plan period and beyond except for normal capital inflows consistent with equilibrium in the balance of payments and the economics of self-reliant development". In terms of balance of payments target alone, this means that the compounded rate of growth of exports during the next decade will have to be four times that of imports if the provisionay figures for 1965-66 of exports and imports are treated as the base. While this means a severe curtailment of the use of foreign resources in the internal economy, it also means the toning up of the economy for not only satisfying the rising internal demands for goods but also for paying off all our past liabilities as also the current requirements through a very vigorous export programme. Hence the future of self-reliance depends on how successfully we will cut down our imports and how vigorously we will push up our exports.

During the Fourth Plan itself, it is envisaged that our requirements of maintenance imports as well as project imports will rise substantially as a consequence of the increase in the levels of production and investment that are being planned for the country's development. External debt servicing charges will also be substantially higher than in the Third Plan. In order to meet the existing and expected liabilities the export target is fixed at Rs.1110 crores in 1970-71 (at pre devaluation prices) which can be achieved only if our production and investment capacities proceed at the rates expected.

Fulfilment of our export targets will depend in a large mea-

sure on the realisation of the production programmes, particularly in the metallurgical, engineering and chemical fields. Costs and quality of Indian manufacturers will have to be competitive with those of foreign suppliers, for which purpose rationalisation of methods of products on, efficient management, adoption of latest technology etc. will be crucial. It is envisaged that, whereas exports in value terms will increase four times in case of engineering and metallurgical goods, and twice in the case of chemical goods, the production targets contemplate an increase of four times in the case of engineering goods production and twice in the case of metallurgical goods as also of chemicals. Thus in case of engineering and chemical goods, production and exports will keep pace with each other while in case of metallurgical goods the rate of rise in exports will be double that of its production.

While the industrial production programme is so envisaged as directly to help the economy attain self-reliance through increased exports to meet our foreign liabilities, it also aims at producing the essential inputs for domestic production and thus steer our economy towards self-sufficiency. That is why we are giving the highest priority to industries manufacturing industrial inputs for agriculture such as fertilizers, pesticides, farm equipment etc. Followed by metals and machine building industries, including steel, aluminium, zinc etc., intermediate goods industries, namely, industrial chemicals, petroleum coal, iron and steel castings and forgings, refractories and cement, and industries which produce essential consumer goods such as sugar, cloth, kerosene etc. The production also aims at accelerating the production of import substitutes. This is possible because though much still remains to be done by way of establishing proper linkages and filling the gaps in this structure, the industrial complex as a whole has today a much greater ability to press forward with growth and diversification than before. In regard to manufacture or transport and power equipment, the economy has reached a stage when requirements can soon be met without any substantial reliance on imports.

There are many indications to show that in the field of manufacturing and industrial development, the movement towards import substitution is proceeding fairly satisfactorily. In many areas of industrial production the relative dependence on

imports today is much less than what it used to be. For instance, in machine tools the import content was as high as 91.6 per cent of the total supply in 1950-51 while by 1964-65 this figure went down to 44.6 per cent. In sugar machinery the figure has gone down from 100 to 4.1 per cent. In textile machinery it has gone down from 100 to 56.5 per cent, in commercial vehicles from 35.7 to 0.5 per cent, in synthetic fibre yarn from 10.0 to 13.6 per cent, in petroleum products from 91.5 to 1.6 per cent, and in aluminium from 74.8 to 29.7 per cent. However, in many cases there has not been an equivalent reduction in imports because of the increase in domestic production of these commodities. Hence in our efforts to attain self-reliance it is important to take into account the need for restraining domestic consumption of import-based products of a non-essential character.

Self-reliance in industry stands for three important conditions of industrial production, namely, (1) to satisfy through internal production the bulk of consumer demand for industrial products, (2) to build up the machine building industry needed for the maintenance, expansion, and diversification of industrial production, and (3) to pay for whatever must be imported through exports, preferably of manufactured goods rather than through exports of primary products.

In other words self-reliance means two things: firstly, in an emergency we should be able to carry on our own for the necessary length of time; and secondly, for our requirement of imports we should earn the necessary foreign exchange by an adequate volume of exports and should be able to procure these through the normal commercial channels and not be dependent on foreign loans or aid for the purpose.

The machine building sector adds to both the economic and defence potential of a country. It makes it possible to manufacture domestically most of the machinery and equipment necessary for development and do without foreign aid if necessary. Under conditions of war it is easy for this sector of industry to switch over to the production of the necessary heavy equipment and materials. The ability to manufacture and supply machinery can also be an important instrument of diplomacy.

Another very important dimension of self-reliance is building up of adequate indigenous level of technological competence both in producing final products and in setting up plants.

Developing a good net-work of roads and other transport links is the *sine qua non* of success of industrial revolution. In England the commercial revolution preceded the industrial revolution. Building up cheap but efficient transport links form one of the chief steps towards self-reliance.

Self-reliance does not mean self-sufficiency. No country in the world produces in normal times everything that it needs. In fact, as industry develops and as affluence grows, the volume of trade also increases. The imports of the country grow rather than diminish, but all of these are paid for through exports. Hence healthy industrial growth should involve the growth of a corresponding export potential to pay for the imports that would accompany the growth of industry. It is this failure to develop an adequate export potential alongside its growth, which is the real weakness of our recent industrial development. A review of policies bearing upon this complex issue is undoubtedly one of the prime requisites of the policy of self-relience.

Today we are in the transitional stage of industrial development. We are able to make some of the components but not the entire machine, or some of the machines but not all those that are needed for the plant or we do not possess indigenously the know-how or have not built up the consulting, designing and engineering capability and so on. And yet there is no alternative but to press on with the job of achieving self-reliance, deciding each case on its own merits in the best interest of the country. The situation calls for a spirit of enterprise and daring combined with a full rapport between the organisational and the technical level.

IRISH CONTRIBUTIONS
The Life and Works of Sir George Abraham Grierson (1851-1941)*

MENAHEM MANSOOR

It is a cliche that the West has much to learn from the East, but it is a cliche that is becoming more and more powerful with each passing day. With the emergence of Alan Watts and his popularization of Zen Buddhism, and Timothy Leary who has brought attention to the perennial Eastern classics, such as the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, the Western world has realized that the East is one vast treasure trove, where the gold of knowledge is to be had just for the taking. When the history of the matter is searched, however, one realizes that it is not necessary to go to such occult fields as Tantric Buddhism or to the modern times of the twentieth century, to find evidence of the interest in Western scholars in Eastern life and thought.

Ireland and Indian Studies

Among the most prolific scholars of Eastern and particularly Indian culture are the Irish, a result perhaps of the temperamental affinity that exists between the Indian and Irish people, as indicated by the similarity of many of their myths. Irish scholars as a group have excelled themselves in Indian and Malayan studies, being among the first authorities on the history of the peoples of India, their vast literature, their art and their religions. Among the most famous Irish scholars of India we may mention William Marsden (1754-1836) a native of Wicklow and author of the first standard dictionary and grammar of the Malayan language. He obtained an appointment from the East India Company, rising after eight years to be the

* The author is indebted to Mr. Mel J. Pasternak. Project Assistant, for his invaluable assistance in compiling the data for this article from various sources, especially *BSOS, Pr. ASB, JASB and JRAS*.

Principal Secretary of the Government, and subsequently after his retirement from India to be the First Secretary to the Admiralty. In India, he mastered the vernacular, a study which later bore fruit in *The Dictionary of Malayan Languages*. Marsden's literary reputation was first assured by the publication of *The History of Sumatra*, which was regarded as a model of descriptive composition, while the publication of his *Numismata Orientalia* established his fame as a numismatist. This last-named valuable and original work describes Marsden's collection of oriental coins, at that time unique in England. Marsden was also one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Charles Hamilton (1753-1792) published *The History of the Rohilla Afghans*, a small work, but one of considerable importance for a much disputed period. He collected the material for his work while engaged in the expedition against the Rohillas. It was also Hamilton who translated the *Hedaya* or *Guide*, a commentary on the Mohammedan Laws.

The Bishop of Madras, R. Caldwell (1814-1891) of Co. Antrim was sent to Dublin for his education. There he came under religious influences which led eventually to his becoming a missionary for Madras. Caldwell is, however, more widely recognized as an Orientalist than a missionary, especially as the investigator of the South Indian family of languages. His *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian* or *South Indian Family of Languages* is of first rate importance and is still one of the standard authorities on the subject. Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of the past—as proved by his *History of Tinnevelly* and *The Tinnevelly Shanars*—coupled with his strong religious convictions, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified material, such as no other European before him had ever collected in India. He also assisted in the Tamil Version of the Bible and the Prayer Book.

Another eminent Tamil and Pali scholar, was John Van-Somerson Pope (1850-1936), who held the Professorship of Oriental Languages at Dublin University. He translated some important Pali and Tamil works. Pope came from a family of marked distinction, for his father was G. U. Pope

(1820-1908), the outstanding Tamil scholar and missionary who was first to compile a Burmese dictionary.

While on the subject of Burma we should mention here Mr. Maurice Collis, nephew of Grierson. He was born in Killiney Co. Dublin and after passing successfully into the Indian Civil Service he was posted to Burma, where for over twenty-one years he held various administrative posts. He began his literary career immediately on his retirement in 1936. Some of his more important works include *Siamese White*, *Trials in Burma*, *Lords of the Sunset* and *Sanda Mala*.

The eminent Dublin-born historian of India, Vincent Arthur Smith (1848-1920), was educated at Trinity College Dublin. While there he entered the Indian Civil Service and in 1871 he was posted to the N.W. Provinces, where he held an exceptionally wide variety of appointments, culminating in the Chief Secretaryship to the Government. He is famed for his works on Indian history and on Indian and Cingalese art. His *History of India* conferred an immense boon on all interested in that country, and became authoritative at once. His acquaintance with Indian life, enabled him to scrutinize and appraise historical material with descrimination beyond the reach of learning that is derived from books.

In *The History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* he gave the first comprehensive survey of the whole field of fine art in all its branches from its beginning to the present day and was at once acknowledged as the author of a masterly treaties. Among other publications, he wrote the Oxford Student's History of India, a work in small compass but one which is important enough to have gone through several editions, and also a work on the life of *Akbar, the Great Moghul,* in the shape of a biography rather than a formal history, which was welcomed as an admirable account of that great emperor.

After his retirement from the Indian Civil Service he held a Readership at Oxford and later at Trinity College, Dublin. Here he was succeeded by Dr. W. Hoey, a graduate of Queen's College. When in India, Hoey devoted much care to the task of identifying the various places mentioned in the life and labours of Buddha. He contributed two important articles on

this subject to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the value of these identifications was considerable for Oriental research scholars. He was the author of *Urdu Praxis*, a progressive course of Urdu composition, and of *Buddha, His life, His Doctrine and His Order*.

Another historian of India who held for a time the Professorship of Oriental Languages in Dublin on his return from India was T. W. Haig (1865-1938) He was later Lecturer in Persian at the School of Oriental Studies in London. Haig's writings on Indian History reveal his minute knowledge of seven centuries of Moslem rule. He was the translator of Badauni's *Muntakhab at-Twarikh*, a general history of India from the Moslem conquest to the end of the sixteenth century. In the field of Oriental translation he will always be remembered for this version of Badauni's history, well-known as one of the chief sources of the Emperor Akbar's reign. Haig also published a useful work on Mohammedan and Christian dates and was responsible for the *Cambridge Shorter History of India*. His chief work, however, was as co-editor of the *Cambridge History of India*. To him were allotted the third and fourth volumes, covering the whole Moslem period. The third volume carrying the story down to the foundation of the Moghul empire was largely his own work, but owing to illness he was unable to complete the fourth volume, and it fell to one of his chief contributors, Sir Richard Burn, of Oxford, to take up the editorship. Sir Richard planned with great skill the fourth volume which was published in 1937.

Sir G. C. Haugton (1788-1849) of Co. Wicklow, was the son of a Dublin physician. He entered into the service of the East India Company and at Calcutta distinguished himself in Hindustani, wining the highest reward of the institution. In 1819 he was appointed Professor of Arabic and Hindustani. During this period he published the first Bengali grammar and dictionary and important text books among which are the *Rudiments of Bengali Grammar*; *Bengali Selections* with translations and a vocabulary on an edition of the Sanskrit text of *Institute of Menu* with Sir W. Jones' translation. The latter, of Oxford, is acknowledged as the father of Indian Studies in Europe.

W. N. Lees (1825-1889) was a profound scholar in Arabic and Hindustani, and was also principal of the *Madrasah* or Muslim school in Calcutta. Although an Arabic scholar of considerable repute he was perhaps better known in India for his Oriental work than he was in the British Isles. He brought out the edition of *Futuh al-Sham*, an account of the Moslem conquest of Syria. But an Arabic work which his memory is more particularly honoured by Eastern scholars is his commentary of Az-Zamakhshari, an exegesis of the Koran, much reverenced by the Sunnites. His other famous books are *The History of the Caliphs* and *Six Hundred Years of Muhammedan Rule in India*. He was also joint editor of *Muntakhab at-Tawarikh* of Badauni stated to be—as a historical source—"second to none in the whole range of historical works by Mohammedan authors."

County Tyrone has also given us a famous soldier and Oriental scholar, especially on the language and literature of the Afghans, in H. G. Raverty (1825-1906). As soon as he was transferred to the North-West Frontier in India, he began the study of Pashtu and Sindi, the languages of the Afghans. Although he lacked academic training, he had many scholarly instincts and devoted himself to linguistic, historical, geographical and ethnological study. When he began the study of Pashtu no grammar or dictionary of that language had been composed. In order to acquire practical knowledge of that tongue he had to collect and arrange systematically almost the whole of the needful grammatical and lexicographical material and thus Raverty became 'the father of the study of the Afghans,' and in 1855 he published his *Grammar of the Pushto*. His anthology of Pushto prose and poetry (*Gulshan-i-Roh*) and his *Selections From the Poetry of the Afghans* with English translations, were warmly commended. After his retirement, he devoted himself to Oriental Studies and produced works which placed him in the first rank of historians of the Moslem East. His most famous work of this period is his translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. This book is a masterpiece of patient erudition and a thesaueas of minute and accurate information regarding the earlier period of Mohammedan rule in India and the countries of its North-West Frontier. His *Tabaqat* will remain a lasting memorial to his name.

George Abraham Grierson

Perhaps the greatest Irish Orientalist of all time, however, is the subject of the present paper—George Abraham Grierson. Grierson was born on January 7, 1851, the eldest male in a family of six children (3 boys and 3 girls). His brother Charles achieved fame in his own right as he became the Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore. In 1863 George went from his grammar school, St. Bees, into the Shrewsberry school where he stayed until 1868, at which time he went to Trinity College in Dublin. In his first year of school he met and came under the influence of Robert Atkinson, a famous orientalist and a scholar of Sanskrit, Tamil, Telegu and many other Asian tongues. From Atkinson he picked up his life-long interest in linguistics and when in 1871 he passed into the Indian Civil Service we see the first bud of a fruitful and brilliant career. In his last two years at Trinity, Grierson pursued his study of Indian languages and was proficient enough in them to take the prize for Sanskrit in 1872 and Hindustani in 1873. At Grierson's graduation in 1873 his mentor, Atkinson, proposed the project of a linguistic survey of India, and when Grierson went to India in October of the same year the seed that was to so fruitfully blossom had been implanted in his mind.

Grierson's early career in India was on the whole uneventful—from 1873 until 1880 he was transferred from station to station, although R. L. Turner assures us that this is "a not unusual experience." In 1880 he returned to his home in Ireland and there, picking up the threads of an old entanglement, he married Elizabeth Collis, the daughter of an eminent Dublin Physician, Dr. Maurice Collis. On his return to India in 1881 he was appointed to the station at Patna where he was Magistrate and Collector remaining at this post until 1884 when he became the Joint Magistrate. Here he remained until 1887 when he was appointed to a post in Gaya at which he remained until 1892, becoming Magistrate and Collector in 1890. In March 1892 he was appointed to a post at Howrah where he stayed until 1894. In 1895 his poor health was beginning to affect his career and he took a furlough. When he returned to India he became Additional Commissioner at Patna and in the next year he was

appointed Opium Agent for Bihar, his last appointment in India. From April 1897 to April 1898 he was on leave, but on May 7, 1898 he was appointed Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India (at Commissioner's pay) a project on which he was occupied for over 30 years, the final volumes not being published until 1928. From 1903 to his death in 1941, at the age of 90, he lived at Rathfarnham, his home in Camberley, Ireland, named after the ancestral castle of the Grierson family.

The number of honors Grierson received for his valuable work is immense. In 1894 he was made a C.I.E. (Commander of the Indian Empire); 1902 brought him an Honorary Litt. D. from his school (T.C.D.) and he also received honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge among other schools. In 1905 the French Institute awarded him the *Prix Volney* and in 1909 he was the recipient of the Triennial Gold Medal which was awarded to him by the Royal Asiatic Society and in 1912 he received the KCIE. In 1923 the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him the Campbell Memorial Medal and in 1929 he was awarded the Sir William Jones Gold Medal from the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; 1928, however, had brought him the award of which he was most proud, the Order of Merit. Grierson also served as an officer of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a Vice-President twice in 1907-1912 and 1920-1924. He was Honorary Secretary from 1916-1920 and Honorary Vice-President in 1925. He was also President of the Gypsy Lore Society.

When we turn to the career of George Grierson, we find that he had many other interests outside of linguistics, for which he is justly most famous. Grierson was a literary man as well. Many of the articles he wrote were translations or commentaries on poems ; he also tried to establish the definitive text of many Indian works. Among his special literary interests were the lyric poetry which was written during the Indian reformation, the Hymns of the Vedas and many aspects of Indian Drama. Grierson was also interested in the vast folk literature of India, particularly the epic Ramayana and the Mahabharata. F. W. Thomas and R. L Turner tell us that Grierson's literary delight was to hear of some orally current song or poem, "to get it written, to find, if possible,

an existing manuscript, to trace its tradition or authorship a date, and with any available help of local pandits or expe to establish or translate its text."[1]

Grierson's interest in folk-literature was complimented his interest in folklore and the life of the Indian people. I most famous work in this category was *Bihar Peasant Li* Published in 1885 the book was a "sort of dictionary of th (the peasant's) entire life, occupations, implements, produc usages, rites, superstitions and seasons."[2]

Grierson's most abiding interest, however, was in t language. His first article was published in 1877, only fo years after he arrived in India. In the early years of l career he was a frequent contributor to the *Journal and Pi ceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Indian An quary.* As Grierson's career progressed there is a defin tendency for his writings to be centered in the area he w stationed, a quite natural tendency for a field linguist, wl must be his source material from the people who speak t language he is studying. Thus, his stationing at Rangpur 1876 produced some writing on this dialect, such as "Notes the Rangpur Dialect" (1877); and "On the Rangpu Genitive" (1878). In 1877 he was stationed at Bhagalpur ai began what might he called the "bihar" period of his writin which lasted until 1886. In this period Grierson prepar innumerable editions of Bihar texts, such as *Twenty-Oi Varshnava Hymns* (1884) which he took from the North Bih dialect; *Some Bihari-Folk Songs* (1884) and *Selected Specimens the Bihari Language* (1885). Also of this period were *An Intr duction to the Maithili Language of North Bihar,* which al consisted of a grammar, chrestomathy and vocabulary (1881 *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Biha Language ; and Essays in Bihari Declension and Conjugati* (1883); and his previously mentioned *Bihar Peasant Li* (1885).

During the year 1886 Grierson made two shifts, in his static and in his attention. From 1886 Grierson started to stuc Gypsy lore and customs and at the same time turned to Hin language and literature. At the Vienna International Congre of Orientalists, we see the first fruits of his new interest in tl

form of "The Medieval Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, with Special Attention to Tul' si Das'." In 1889 he published *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, which is a huge work giving biographical and bibliographical accounts of approximately 900 authors. The next year he edited and translated from the Hindi a grammar of the Chattigarhi dialect of the language. In 1893 and 1894 he published on Hindi poetry writing an analysis of the famous poem the Padumavati and then translating the famous Hindi manual on poetry—The Bhasha-Bhushana of Jas' Want Singh. In 1895 his interest once again shifted this time to the study of Kashmiri, a shift determined no doubt by his visit to Kashmir during the years 1894-1895. This shift of interest again bore fruit for the linguistic world when in 1895 he translated and edited with notes Burkhard's *Essays on Kacmiri Grammar.* Two years later he edited and translated the Kacmiri Grammar by Icvara Kaula, a local pandit ; by 1900 Grierson had also written about ten original papers on the subject of the structure of the language. Although Grierson devoted a lot of his time to the *Survey* after 1898, his surplus energy enabled him to produce as such beyond the *Survey*, as other scholars would be content to produce if they had all their time free. Grierson's study of Kacmiri was continued during this period—in 1911 he published a Kacmiri Manual with grammar, phrase book and vocabularies included and in 1915 he published an important article called "The Linquistic Classification of Kacmirix."

During this period Grierson also did some very important work on the Prakrit dialect. The problem with the study of Prakrit was that by the 4th century AD it had become a literary medium ; grammarians had made rules for it which standardized the writing of the language and thus its stages of change were not apparent. Grierson solved this problem by considering the relations between the various dialects of Prakrit as expounded by the grammarians, and the later as well as the modern versons of Prakrit. Grierson's accomplishment lay in the descrimination of two schools, an eastern and western, of Prakrit grammarians, and he also discussed many of the documents of Prakrit in a manner that greatly ellucidated them.

Linguistic Survey of India

We now turn to a discussion without which no article on Grierson would be complete—the *Linguistic Survey of India.* The idea or actuality of the Survey was with Grierson almost all his life. It was introduced to him when he was just 22 years old and graduating Trinity College ; he, himself, introduced the project to the Indian Government in 1886 at the age of 35. It was not until 1928, when Grierson was the already ripe age of 77, that the project was finally completed. To some the classification of 544 languages and 179 dialects must seem like an endless if not simply a tedious task. It was not so to George Grierson as this speech from a dinner given at the completion of the Survey shows. Sir George : "I have said somewhere that the Survey was one long romance, and so indeed it was. It is true that we have endeavoured to record facts and facts alone. But what facts ! At every stage of our work we heard inarticulate murmurs from the past—of days when China was pre-Chinese, when our own ancestors herded their flocks on the borders of the Caspian, or when some Indian Teucer, greatly daring, led his compatriots across the *ingens acquor* or the Bengal Bay to people distant Indo-China and thence to wander almost as far as America across the islands of the wide Pacific. What food for imagination is here ! What history lies hidden under apparently dry grubbing among roots and fossils ! And then turning to later days there was the ever present contrast between the wild and the civilized. Wearied, perhaps, with the analysis of some savage dialect possessing but a few hundred words, we could turn to the plains of India with their splendid modern literatures, and recognize that here was an enchanted garden, its paths almost untrodden by explorers from the West—not laid out by rule or governed by precept like its illustrious Sanskrit predecessor, but one in which Nature, suffused with bounteous sunshine affords vistas of never-ending delight."[3]

The *Linguistic Survey of India* may have been romantic to work on, but it was certainly not easy to complete. The problems that Grierson faced would have made a lesser man or scholar turn tail and run. Not only was it necessary to classify all the languages which were commonly spoken by the large mass of the Indian people and in areas under the control of the

Government, but it was also necessary to include large linguistic areas that were not within Government control. In addition, the representative of shy or remote tribes had to be questioned, sometimes through an interpreter or even a series of interpreters. Then again there were wandering groups that had to be tracked down; as to classification of languages, there were maddening variations in dialect from village to village and even between the different sexes in the same village. Despite these difficulties Sir George persevered and developed the standarized materials and procedures necessary to insure scientific uniformity. His first step was to obtain from each district a list of all the words and dialects spoken in it. To each of the peoples of these languages he submitted a version of the Prodigal Son story and received a word for word translation; in addition to this he obtained an orally elicited narrative or statement written out in the dialect and then transliterated to the Roman Character in free translation; last, according to a preplaned list, he compiled a vocabulary of words and phrases, leaving room for multiple specimens of the same word or phrase.

The accumulation of data completed, the other major task was the classification of this data into meaningful patterns. After a critical examination and selection of both the texts and translations was completed, a grammatical sketch of the language was made. The sketch took into account the previous work done on the language, but even in the few cases where there was a large amount of work done, Grierson had much to add. In its final form each sketch included the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language under discussion. In each case the entry begins with a statement of geographical and census particulars, a bibliography and a discussion of group relations.

Grierson then proceeded to classify language groups and sub-groups according to morphological and historical considerations. Grierson freed his work from the prejudice of traditional classifications by doing this *a posteriori*, that is, after he had examined the languages in question. The groups and sub-groups were then organized into the eleven volumes that comprised the Survey, a list of the contents of which is given on next page.

Volume

I. a) Accounts of the historical antecedents of t Survey procedure.

b) Review of the results in general.

c) List of all the languages and dialects both in t Survey and in the preliminaries for a Survey Southern Burma, an area excluded from t Survey.

d) Addenda and Corrigenda.

II. a) Comparative Vocabularies—An account of t languages in relation to uniformity of translite tion.

b) Mon-Khemer and Tai families.

III. Tibeto-Burman languages.

IV. Munda and Drvidian languages.

V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.

VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group.

VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group.

VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.

IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.

X. Eranain family.

XI. "Gipsy" languages.

Of these volumes most of III, all of IV, VII and XI and a p of IX were completed by Professor Sten Konow who worked Grierson's assistant.

After the completion of the *Linguistic Survey* Grierson le relatively quiet life at Camberley, largely indulging his life-lc passion for the violin, and frequently giving classical conce with a group of friends. He continued to publish articles to 1933, when at the age of 82, his pen at last fell sile Grierson died at the age of 90 on March 9, 1941. It was a : day for the linguistic world; his life and work was perhaps b summarized by his close friend and colleague, R. L. Turner.

"No attempt to assess the value of Grierson's work could b complete without reference to his broad humanity, his delightfu humuor, his never-failing kindness. He was big in body, min and soul. He had boundless energy and enthusiasm and a firmness of spirit which, held undeviating on the path he ha chosen, triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. Neithe age nor sickness diminished that enthusiasm or dimmed tha spirit. Beyond all, his delight in encouraging his fellow worker and particularly the young among them made Rathfarnham a place of pilgrimage for scholars of all races and from ever country, and especially from his own loved India. Fortunat indeed were those who enjoyed the hospitality that he and Lad Grierson offered in their home; and to all who have set in th study of Rathfarnham the memory of the great and good ma will be an abiding joy."[4]

[1]*Proceedings*, p. 287.
[2]*Proceedings*, p. 288.
[3]*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1928, pp. 713-714.
[4]*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, p. 386.

Supplement
The complete list of Grierson, publications, reproduced from *BSOS* Vol. VIII, pp. 299-318 is given on page 400.

APPENDIX

Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir George A. Grierson

Compiled by EDITH M. WHITE

ABBREVIATIONS

BSOS: : Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
IA. : Indian Antiquary.
JAOS. : Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB. : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS. : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Mem. ASB. : Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Pr. ASB. : Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

PART I. BOOKS, ARTICLES, Etc.

1877

Are Kalidasa's heroes monogamists ? (JASB., xlvi, Pt. 1, pp. 39-40.)

Notes on the Rangpur dialect. (JASB., xlvi, Pt. 1, pp. 186-226.)

1878

The song of Manik Chandra. (JASB., xlvii, Pt. 1, pp. 135-238.)

The song of Manik Chandra . . . Reprinted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta, 1878.

On the Rangpuri genitive. (Pr. ASB., 1878, p. 64.)

1879

Some further notes on Kalidasa. (JASB., xlviii, Pt. 1. pp, 32-48.)

Addenda to Further notes on Kalidasa. (Abstract.) (Pr. ASB., 1879, pp. 107-8.)

Orientalisten-Congresses, Arische Section, pp. 157-210.) Wien, 1888.

The inscriptions of Piyadasi, by E. Senart. . . . Translated by G. A. Grierson. (IA., xvii, pp. 303-7. xviii, 1-9, 73-80, 105-8, 300-9. xix, 82-102. xx, 154-170, 229-266. xxi, 1-13, 85-92, 101-6, 145-155, 171-7, 203-10, 243-250, 258-276.)

Doms, Jats, and the origin of the gypsies. Extracted from the *Indian Antiquary*, 1886-87. (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, i, pp. 71-6.)

The Vikrama Samvat. (Athenaeum, 9th June, 1888, pp. 727-8.)

1889

The modern vernacular literature of Hindustan. (JASB., lvii, Pt. 1, Special number.)

The Danish Royal Academy's prize regarding the philological position of Sanskrit in India. (IA., xviii, pp. 124-5)

Gustave Garrez. [Obituary notice.] (IA., xviii, pp. 378-9.)

The genitive in Gypsy. Extracted from The *Indian Antiquary*, 1887. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, i, pp. 97-9).

Beng. (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, i, p. 118.)

1890

A grammar of the dialect of Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces. Written in Hindi by Mr. Hiralal Kavyopadhyaya . . . translated and edited by George A. Grierson. (JASB., lix, Pt. 1, pp. 1-49, 101-153.)

Sir M. Monier-Williams on transliteration. [A letter.] (JRAS., 1890, pp. 814-820.)

Notes on Pali and Prakrit. (Academy, 1890, 25th October, p. 369)

1891

Joseph and his brethren. (Calcutta Review, vol. xcii, pp. 351-360.)

1892

An ancient form of submission. (Academy, 1892, 2nd July, p. 15.)

1893

Notes on the district of Gaya. Calcutta, 1893.

On the early study of Indian vernaculars in Europe. (JASB., lxii, Pt. 1, pp. 41-52.)

A specimen of the Padumawati. Analysis of the Padumawati. (JASB., lxii, Pt. 1, pp. 127-210.)

Obituary notice of the death of Mr. F. S. Growse. (Pr. ASB., 1893, pp. 119-120.)

Notes on Tul'si Das. (IA., xxii, pp. 89-98, 122-9, 197-206, 225-236, 253-274.)

1894

On a stone image of the Buddha found at Rajagrha. (JASB., lxiii, Pt. 1, pp. 35-8.)

Professor Weber on the Kavyamala. (IA., xxiii, p. 28.)

The Bhasha-bhushana of Jas'want Singh. Edited and translated by G. A. Grierson. (IA., xxiii, pp. 215-222, 225-238, 265-296, 305-333, 345-352.)

The hemp plant in Sanskrit and Hindi literature. (IA., xxiii, pp. 260-2.)

Professor W. Dwight Whitney. [Obituary notice.] (IA., xxiii, pp. 263-4.)

1895

On the condition of Asoka inscriptions in India. (Actes du Dixieme Congres International des Orientalistes, Deuxieme partie, pp. 147-150.) Leide, 1895.

On the phonology of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. (ZDMG., xlix, pp. 393-421 and l, pp. 1-42.)

On pronominal suffixes in the Kacmiri language. (JASB., lxiv, Pt. 1, pp. 336-351.)

On the radical and participal tenses of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. (JASB., lxiv, Pt. 1, pp. 352-375.)

Note on an early supposed Bangali version of the Lord's Prayer. (Pr. ASB., 1895, pp. 88-91.)

[A reduced facsimile of the grant of Bisapi by Civa Simha to Vidyapati.] (Pr. ASB., 1895, pp. 143-4.)

On the stress-accent in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. (JRAS., 1895, pp. 139-147.)

The geographical distribution and mutual affinities of the indo-Aryan vernaculars. (Calcutta Review, vol. ci, pp. 258-274.)

The Tenth Congress of Orientalists, Geneva, 1894. (IA., xxiv, pp. 136-140)

Essays on Kacmiri grammar. By . . . Karl Friedrich Burkhard. Translated and edited, with notes and additions by G. A. Grierson. (IA., xxiv, pp. 337-347. xxv, 1-9, 29-35, 85-102, 165-173, 193-9, 208-16. xxvi, 188-192. xxvii, 179-193, 215-221, 228-232, 309-317. xxviii, 6-13, 85-93, 169-179, 219-223, 247-252, 269-270. xxix, 1-4.)

The Bower manuscript. (IA., xxiv, p.370.)

Curiosities of Indian literature. Selected and translated by G. A. Grierson. . . . Edited . . . by . . . Ramadina Sinha. [From IA., xiv-xvii.] Bankipore, 1895.

1896

The Padumawati of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. Edited, with a commentary, translation, and critical notes, by G. A. Grierson . . . and Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakara Dvivedi. Vol. i. Text, commentary and critical notes. Cantos i-xxxv (Vv. 1-286.) (Bibliotheca Indica.) Calcutta, 1896-1911. *Only six fasciculi published.*

The Satsaiya of Bihari, with a commentary entitled the Lala-candrika by Cri Lallu Lal Kavi. . . . Edited with an introduction and notess by G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, 1896.

On irregular causal verbs in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. (JASB., lxv, Pt. 1, pp. 1-5.)

On the Kacmiri vowel-system. (JASB., lxv, Pt. 1. pp. 280-305.)

A list of Kacmiri verbs. (JASB., lxv, Pt. 1, pp. 306-389.)

Report on investigation at Bodh-Gaya. (Pr. ASB., 1896, pp. 51-61.)

Assamese literature. (IA., xxv, pp. 57-61.)

1897

The Kacmiracabdamrta. A Kacmiri grammar written in the Sanskrit language by Icvara-Kaula. Edited with notes and additions by G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, 1897-8.

On the Kacmiri consonantal system. (JASB., lxvi, Pt. 1, pp. 180-4.)

Account of the proceedings of the International Co of Orientalists held at Paris. (Pr. ASB., pp. 132-142.)

1898

On the Kacmiri noun. (JASB., lxvii, Pt. 1, pp. 29-98.)

Note on a dialect of Gujarati discovered in the [B District of Midnapur. (JASB., lxvii, Pt. 1, pp. 185-19

On primary suffixes in Kacmiri. (JASB., lxvii, I pp. 193-220.)

On secondary suffixes in Kacmiri. (JASB., lxvii, pp. 221-255.)

Note on the date of the composition of the Kavitta Ram of Tulsi Das. (Pr. ASB., 1898, pp. 113-15.)

A further note on Tulasi-dasa and the plague in Be (Pr. ASB., 1898, pp. 147-8.)

In memoriam G. Buhler. On some Swat languages (IA., pp. 373-382.)

On the Kurmis of Bihar, Chutia Nagpur and Orissa, (lxvii, Pt. 3, pp. 110-11.)

Indian research in Russia. (Englishman, 28th Februar 1st March, 1898.)

1899

A handbook of the Kaithi character. Second, revised, e Calcutta, 1899.

Essays on Kacmiri grammar. [Reprinted from JASB lxviii.] London and Calcutta, 1899.

On the Kacmiri verb. (JASB., lxviii, Pt. 1. pp. 1-92.)

On indeclinable particles in Kacmiri. (JASB., lxviii, pp. 93-5.)

On the genuineness of the grant of Civa-simha to Vid thakkura. (JASB,, lxviii, Pt. 1, p. 96.)

On some mediaeval kings of Mithila. IA., xxviii. pp

On the Gurezi dialect of Shina. By J. Wilson. . . . Pref G. A. Grierson. (IA.. xxviii, pp. 93-4)

Some birth custom[s] in Bihar. (IA., xxviii, p. 195.)

On the East-Central group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. xxviii, pp. 262-8.)

1900

On Pashai, Laghmani, or Dehgani. (ZDMG., liv, pp. 563-598.)
On the languages spoken beyond the North-Western Frontier of India. With a map.) JRAS., 1900, pp. 501-510.)
The water of life. (Folk-Lore, xi, pp. 433-4.)

1901

An old Kumauni satire. (JRAS., 1901, pp. 475-9.)
Note on the principal Rajasthani dialects. (JRAS., 1901, pp, 787-808.)
On the history of religion in India,—a brief review. By Albrecht Weber. (Translated from the original German by G. A. G.) (IA , xxx, pp. 268-288.)

1902

Notes on Ahom. (ZDMG., lvi, pp. 1-59.)
Vricada and Sindhi. (JRAS., 1902, pp. 47-8.)
On the Mugdhavabodhamauktika, and its evidence as to Old Gujarati. (JRAS., 1902, pp. 537-555.)
John Beames. [Obituary notice.] (JRAS., 1902, pp. 722-5.)
Note on the Kuki-Chin languages. By Sten Konow and G. A. Grierson. (IA., xxxi, pp. 1-5.)

1903

Linguistic survey of India. 11 volumes in 20. Calcutta, 1903-1928.
The languages of India : being a reprint of the chapter on languages contributed by George Abraham Grierson . . . to the Report on the Census of India, 1901, together with the Census statistics of language. Calcutta, 1903.
An instance of a prosthetic *g* in an Indo-Aryan language. (Pr. ASB., 1903, pp. 125-6.)
Sleeman's "Py-khan"—Kalidasa and the Guptas. (JRAS., 1903. p. 363.)
Languages in India. (JRAS., 1903, pp. 425-7.)
Tulasi Dasa, poet and religious reformer. (JRAS., 1903, pp. 447-466.)
A bibliography of Western Hindi, including Hindostani.

Based on the Linguistic Survey of India.] (IA., xxxii, pp. 16-25, 59-76 160-179, 262-5.

The early publications of the Serampore missionaries. (A contribution to Indian bibliography.) (IA., xxxii, pp. 241-254.)

On certain suffixes in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars (Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung, xxxviii, pp. 473-491.)

1904

On the modern Indo-Aryan alphabets of North-Western India. (JRAS., 1904, pp. 67-73.)

An Ahom cosmogony, with a translation, and a vocabulary of the Ahom language. (JRAS., 1904, pp. 181-232.)

Guessing the number of Vibhitaka seeds. (JRAS., 1904, pp. 355-7.)

In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken language ? (JRAS., 1904, pp. 471-481.)

Hastivanj. (JRAS., 1904, pp. 537-8.)

Linguistic relationship of the Shahbazgarhi inscription. (JRAS., 1904, pp. 725-731.)

A few notes on the First Half of the Twenty-fifth Volume of JAOS. Letter . . . from Dr. George A. Grierson. (JAOS., xxv, pp. 339-340.)

The languages of India and the Census of 1901. (Asiatic Quarterly Review, xvii, pp. 267-286.)

General report of the Census of India (1901). (Chapter VII, Language.) London, 1904.

Report on the progress of the Linguistic Survey of India, presented to the XIIIth International Congress of Orientalists. (Verhandlungen des XIII . Kongresses, pp. 77-81.) Leiden, 1904.

'Borrioboola-gha." (Athenaeum, 12th November, 190 4, p. 659.)

1905

Vidyapati Thakur. (JASB , New series, i, pp. 228-9.)

Pisaca=' *Ωμοφάγος*. (JRAS., 1905, pp. 285-8.)

1906

The Pisaca languages of North-Western India. (Asiatic Society monographs, vol. viii.) London, 1906.

Yuan Chwang's Mo-la-p'o. (JRAS., 1906, pp. 95-105.)

The Brhaddevata and the Sanskrit epic. (JRAS., 1906, pp. 441-2.)

Dallana and Bhoja (JRAS., 1906, pp. 692-3.)

Adhakosikya. (JRAS. 1906, p. 693.)

The inscription on the Peshawar vase. (JRAS., 1906, p. 993.)

Notes on Dr. Fleet's article on the corporeal relics of Buddha. (JRAS., 1906, pp. 1002-3.)

A bibliography of the Panjabi language. [Based on the Linguistic Survey of India.] (IA., xxxv, pp. 65-72.)

Two Panjabi love songs in the dialect of the Lahnda or Western Panjab, by Jindan. Contributed by H. A. Rose. (With some notes by Dr. G. A. Grierson.) (IA., xxxv, pp. 333-5.)

Hinduism and early Christianity. (The East and the West, iv, pp. 135-157.)

Do the Hindus believe in a personal God? [A letter.] (The East and the West, iv, pp. 474-5.)

The languages of India and the Linguistic Survey. [Paper and discussion.] (Journal of the Society of Arts, liv, pp. 581-600.)

The languages of India and the Linguistic Survey. [Report of a lecture.] (Indian Magazine and Review, 1906, pp. 100-2.)

1907

The imperial gazetteer of India. The Indian Empire. New edition. Oxford, 1907-9. [Vol. i, chapter vii, Languages. Vol. ii, chpater xi, Vernacular literature.]

A specimen of the Khas or Naipali language. [ZDMG., lxi, pp. 659-688)

Vethadipa. (JRAS., 1907, p. 166.)

Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians. (JRAS., 1907, pp. 311-335, 493-503.)

Rajana, Rajanya. (JRAS., 1907, p. 409.)

A verse from the Bhaktamala. (JRAS., 1907, pp. 679-681.)

The Sohgaura inscription. (JRAS., 1907, pp. 683-5.)

The Khasis and the Austric theory. (JRAS., 1907, pp. 748-750.)

An orthographic convention in the Nagari character. (JR. 1907, pp. 1057-9.)

The rain of Swati. (JRAS., 1907, p. 1060.)

Hinduism and Bhakti. [A letter.] (The East and the V v, pp. 229-231.)

1908

Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics. Edited by James Hasti Edinburgh, New York, 1908-1926.

The following articles :—Alakhnamis, Alakhgirs, Alakhiyas : Atheism (Indian, modern) : Atits .. : I Lalis : Bhakti-marga : Bhils (Language) : Charan Da Dards : Ganapatyas : Gaya : Gorakhnāth : Harischan Kanchuliyas ; Karalingis : Kararis: Khakis : Khos : I rature (Indian vernacular) : Madhvas, Madhvacha Maluk Dasis : Nagas : Pisachas : Prannathis : Prap marga : Radhavallabhis : Rai Dasis : Ramanar Ramawats : Rukhars, Sukhars, Ukhars : Sadhs : Sadl panthīs : Sadhu : Sakhibhavas : Satnamis : Saurapa Sauras, or Sauryas : Senapanthis : Shins : Siva N yanis : Tulasi-Dasa.

Govinda, Gopendra, Upendra. (JRAS., 1908, p. 163.)

Vethadipa. (JRAS., 1908, p. 164.)

The modern Hindu doctrine of works. (JRAS., 1908, pp. : 362.)

P. C. Ray's English translation of the Mahabharata. (JR. 1908, pp. 549-550.)

The nations of India at the battle between the Pandavas Kauravas. (JRAS., 1908, pp. 602-7.)

Robert Atkinson. [Obituary notice.] (JRAS., 1908, pp. (633.)

Note on Mr. Keith's note on the battle between the Panda and the Kauravas. (JRAS., 1908, pp. 837-844, 1143.)

Report on the Linguistic Survey of India, presented to Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists. (JRAS., 19 pp. 1127-1131.)

Krsna-datta Misra, Kesava-dasa, and the Prabodha-candrod (JRAS., 1908, pp. 1136-8.)

The Narayaniya and the Bhagavatas. (IA., xxxvii, pp. 251-2 373-386.)

ıdia and the gypsies. (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, New series, i, p. 400.)

report...on the Linguistic Survey of India presented to the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists...1908. (J. and Pr. ASB., New series, iv, pp. cxiv-cxvii.)

letter from Dr. G. A. Grierson and Mr. M. L. Dames giving an account of the [Fifteenth] International Congress [of Orientalists]. (J. and Pr. ASB. New series, iv, p. cxvii.)

ıe monotheistic religion of ancient India and its descendant, the modern Hindu doctrine of faith. (Abstract.) (Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, vol. II, pp. 44-8.) Oxford, 1908.

The complete paper is in Asiatic Quarterly Review, xxviii, pp. 115—126.

1909

ɔlk-etymology and its consequences. (JRAS., 1909, p. 164.)

folk-tale parallel. (JRAS., 1909, pp, 448-9.)

leanings from the Bhakta-mala. (JRAS., 1909, pp. 607-644. 1910. pp. 87-109, 269-306.)

ısudeva of Panini IV, iii, 98. (JRAS., 1909, p. 1122. 1910, pp. 171-2.)

ıe Gumani Niti. Compiled by.. Rewadhar Upreti. Communicated by G. A. Grierson. (IA., xxxviii, pp. 177-188.)

ɔte on Professor Prince's article on the English-Rommany jargon in vol. xxviii, 2, of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. (JAOS., xxix, pp 232-5.)

nens and folk-etymologies from Jaunsar. (Folk-Lore, xx, p. 337.)

ıe monotheistic religion of ancient India and its descendant, the modern Hindu doctrine of faith. (Asiatic Quarterly Review, xxviii, pp 115-126.)

"A complete report of a paper read at the Third International Congress of the History of Religion."

1910

ıe Encyclopaedia Britannica....Eleventh edition. Cambridge, 1910-1911.

The following articles :—Ahom : Bengali : Bihari : Gujarati and Rajasthani : Hindostani : Indo-Aryan Languages:

Kashmiri : Marathi : Pahari : Pisaca Languages : Prakrit : Rajasthani : Sindhi and Lahnda.

An introduction to the Maithili dialect of the Bihari language as spoken in North Bihar....Second edition. Part 1. Grammar. (JASB., New Series, v, Extra No. 2.)

The translation of the term "Bhagavat". (JRAS., 1910, pp. 159-162.)

The modern Indo-Aryan polite imperative. (JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-3.)

The Artha-pancaka of Pillai Lokacarya. Translated by Alkondavilli Govindacarya ... with an introduction by G. A. Grierson. (The Artha-pancaka of Narayana Yati. Edited by G. A. Grierson.) (JRAS., 1910, pp. 565-607.)

Chinese riddles on ancient Indian toponymy. Note by Dr. Grierson. (JRAS., 1910, pp. 1201-3.)

Abhinava-gupta in modern Kashmir. (JRAS., 1910, pp. 1334-8.)

A specimen of the Kumauni language. Extracts from the compositions of Krishna Pande. Translated by Ganga Datt Upreti. Communicated [with an introductory note] by G.A. Grierson. (IA., xxxix, pp. 78-82.)

1911

A manual of ihe Kashmiri language, comprising grammar, phrase-book and vocabularies. 2 volumes. Oxford, 1911.

A case of Hindu syncretism. (JRAS., 1911, p.195.)

Note on Dr. Sten Konow's article on Bashgali. (JRAS., 1911, pp. 195-7.)

The birthplace of Bhakti. (JRAS., 1911, pp. 800-1.)

The language of the Kambojas. (JRAS , 1911, pp 801-2. 1912, p. 255.)

The Takri alphabet. (JRAS., 1911, pp. 802 3.)

Foreign elements in the Hindu population. [Criticism of D.R. Bhandarkar's paper of this title.] (IA., xl, pp 149-152.)

1912

Etymologies tokhariennes. (Journal Asiatique, x^e serie, tome xix, pp. 339-346.)

Paisaci, Pisacas, and "Modern Pisaca". (ZDMG., lxvi, pp. 49-86.)

Pisacas in the Mahabharata. (Festschrift Wilhelm Thomson... 1912, pp. 138-141.) Leipzig, 1912.

Progress report of the Linguistic Survey of India ... presented to the XVIth International Congress of Orientalists .. 1912. (J. and Pr. ASB. New series, viii, pp. cxxiii-cxxviii.)

Tengalai and Vadagalai. Note by Dr. Grierson. (JRAS., 1912, pp. 717-18.)

Kasmiri almanacs. (JRAS., 1912, pp. 719-721.)

Progress report of the Linguistic Survey of India, up to the end of the year 1911. (JRAS., 1912, pp. 1079-1085.)

Progress report of the Linguistic Survey of India, up to the end of the year 1911. For the XVIth International Congress of Orientalists. (IA., xli, pp. 179-181.)

The ethnology, languages, literature and religions of India Reprinted from the Third Edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. Oxford, 1912. [Chapter VII, Languages, and Chapter XI, Vernacular literature.]

1913

Is the Ramayana of Tulasi Dasa a translation ? (JRAS., 1913, pp. 133-141.)

On the phonetics of the Wardak vase. (JRAS., 1913 pp. 141-4.)

Alopen and Siladitya. (JRAS, 1913, p 144.) *Reprinted in IA. xlii, p. 180.*

Kanamoksa. A query. (JRAS., 1913, pp. 144-5.)

The Brhatkatha in Markandeya. (JRAS., 1913, p. 391.)

The pronunciation of Prakrit palatals. (JRAS., 1913 pp. 391-6.)

Yaska's Datra. Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra phonetics. (JRAS. 1913, pp. 682-3.)

Duryodhana and the Queen of Sheba. (JRAS., 1913, pp. 684-5 1914, pp. 451-2.)

Apabramsa according to Markandeya and "Dhakki" Prakrit (JRAS., 1913, pp. 875-883.)

1914

Siva-parinayah, a poem in the Kashmiri language by Krsna Rajanaka (Razdan). With a chaya or gloss in Sanskrit by .. Mukundarama Sastri. Edited by Sir George A. Grierson

(Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 224.) Calcutta, 1914-1924.

Nasa = lintel. (JRAS., 1914, pp. 129-130.)

The Pahari language [Based on the Linguistic Survey of India.] (IA., xliii, pp. 142-151, 159-166.)

The headless horseman. (Folk-Lore, xxv, p. 382.)

1915

The North-Western group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Based on the Linguistic Survey of India.] (IA , xliv, pp. 226-8.)

The linguistic classification of Kashmiri. IA., xliv, pp. 257-270.)

1916

A dictionary of the Kashmiri language. Compiled partly from materials left by Isvara Kaula, by Sir George A. Grierson ...assisted by. Mukundarama Sastri. (Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 229.) Calcutta, 1916-1932.

On the Sarada alphabet. (JRAS., 1916, pp. 677-708.)

1917

The home of literary Pali. (Commemorative essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, pp. 117-123.) Poona, 1917.

The two invasion hypothesis. (JRAS., 1917, pp. 400-1).

Mixture of Prakrits in Sanskrit plays. (JRAS., 1917, pp. 826-7.)

1918

The Ormuri or Bargista language, an account of a little-known Eranian dialect (Mem. ASB , vii, No. 1.) Calcutta, 1918.

Indo-Aryan vernaculars, (BSOS., vol. i, part ii (1918), pp, 47-81, and part iii (1920), pp. 51-85.) *Reprinted in IA., lx, Supplement, pp. 6-52.*

The Siva Narayanis. (JRAS., 1918, pp 114-17)

The Prakrit Vibhasas. (JRAS., 1918, pp. 489-517.)

1919

The Linguistic Survey of India and the Census of 1911. Calcutta, 1919.

ıgustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle. [Obituary notice] (JRAS., 1919, pp. 114-124.)
ı Arabic word quoted by Hemacandra. (JRAS., 1919, p. 235.)
new book in Maithili. (JRAS., 1919, pp. 235-6.)

1920

dex of language-names. (Linguistic survey of India.) Calcutta, 1920.
.kashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami. An account of three Eranian dialects. (Prize Publication Fund, vol. v.) London, 1920.
lla-vakyani, or the wise sayings of Lal Ded, a mystic poetess of ancient Kashmir. Edited with translation, notes, and a vocabulary, by Sir George Grierson and Lionel D. Barnett. (Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. xvii.) London, 1920.
ıe popular literature of Northern India. (BSOS., vol. i, part iii, pp 87-122.)
›cal harmony in Karen. (JRAS., 1920, pp. 347-8)
ompon." (JRAS., 1920, p. 348.)
ı the representation of tones in oriental languages. (JRAS., 1920, pp. 453-479.)
ıe home of Ramananda. (JRAS., 1920, pp. 591-6.)
.isachi in the Prakrita-kalpataru. (IA., xlix, p. 114.)
ıe tale of "The prince that didn't exist.". (Folk-Lore, xxxi, pp. 77-81.)

1921

grammar of the Chhattisgarhi dialect of Eastern Hindi. Originally written in Hindi by Hıra Lal Kavyopadhyaya .. and translated by Sir George A. Grierson. Revised and enlarged by Pandit Lochan Prasad Kavya-Vınod under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. Calcutta, 1921. [First published. JASB., lix, Part I, 1890.]
otes on Tulsi Das. [From IA., xx.] Allahabad, 1921.
adu and its relatives. (BSOS., ii, (1921-3), pp. 39-42.)
mes Drummond Anderson. [Obituary notice.] (JRAS , 1921, pp. 149-152.)
ta's parentage. (JRAS., 1921, pp. 422-4.)
ajasekhara and the home of Paisaci. (JRAS., 1921, pp. 424-8.)

1922

Hamm-(gatau). (JRAS., 1922, pp. 77-9.)

Spontaneous nasalization in the Indo-Aryan languages. (JRAS., 1922, pp. 381-8.)

The Apabhramsa Stabakas of Rama-sarman (Tarkavagisa). IA., li, pp. 13-28. lii, pp. 1-8, 187-191.)

Shahbazgarhi *uthanam*; Sauraseni locative in *e*. (JAOS., xlii, pp. 211-12.)

The dragons' teeth; blood falling on the ground. (Folk-Lore, xxxiii, pp. 380-1)

1923

The lay of Alha. A saga of Rajput chivalry as sung by minstrels of northern India. Partly translated in English ballad metre by . William Waterfield. ... With an introduction and abstracts of the untranslated portions by Sir George Grierson. Oxford, 1923.

The lay of Brahma's marriage: an episode of the Alh-Khand. Translated by Sir George A. Grierson. (BSOS., ii, (1921-3), pp. 573-608.)

Hatim's tales. Kashmiri stories and songs recorded . by Sir Aurel Stein ... and edited with a translation, linguistic analysis, vocabulary, indexes, etc., by Sir George A. Grierson (Indian Texts Series.) London, 1923.

Indra and Durga in modern Hindustan. (Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, ii, pp 133-9.) *Part af a volume dedicated to A. Hillebrandt.*

The Rev. John Drew Bate. [Obituary notice.] (JRAS., 1923, pp. 330-2.)

Tamil *pambu*, Sanskrit *papa-*. (JRAS , 1923, p. 619.)

"Mongoose." (JRAS., 1923, pp. 619-620)

Paisachi and Chulikapaisachika. (IA., lii, pp. 16-17)

1924

The Prakrit Dhatv-adesas according to the western and the eastern schools of Prakrit grammarians. (Mem. ASB., viii, No 2.) Calcutta, 1924.

Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E. [Obituary notice.] (JRAS., 1924, pp. 147-8.)

On Sina cerebrals. (JRAS., 1924, pp. 656-663.)
On the Benares pronunciation of the Sanskrit visarga. (JRAS., Centenary supplement, pp. 117-121.)

1925

The eastern school of Prakrit grammarians and Paisaci Prakrit. (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee volumes. Vol. iii, part 2, pp. 119-141.) Calcutta, 1925.
Prakritica. (JRAS., 1925, pp. 215-236.)
Once again on Sina "cerebrals". (JRAS., 1925, pp. 304-14.)
On the Tirahi language. (JRAS., 1925, pp. 405-16.)
The Buddhist analogue of a Bengali story. (A supplement.) (Calcutta Review, Third series, xiv, p. 269.)

1926

Bihar peasant life. . Second and revised edition. Patna, 1926.
On the Adbhuta-Ramayana. (BSOS., iv (1926-8), pp. 11-27.)
Sortes Tulasianae. (Beitrage zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe Hermann Jacobi ... 1925, pp. 449-455.) Bonn, 1926.
The Sthiratattva inscription. (BSOS., iv (1926-8), pp. 212-13.)
Kashmiri *rost* and *sost*. (JRAS., 1926, pp. 489-491.)
Kashmiri स्वर. (JRAS., 1926, pp. 507-8.)

1927

The /\acch- in modern India. (Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe Richard von Garbe. . Veroffentlichungen des Indogermanischen Seminars der Universitat Erlangen, Band iii, pp. 24-32.) Erlangen, 1927.
On the old North-western Prakrit. (JRAS., 1927, pp. 849-852.)
Dardic intervocalic consonants, *D* > *L*: (JRAS., 1927, p. 853.)
The Sauraseni and Magadhi Stabakas of Rama-sarman (Tarkavagisa). (IA., lvi and lvii, Supplement.)

1928

...Sri-krsnavatara-lila, composed in Kashmiri by Dina-Natha. Text edited, translated, and transcribed in Roman character.

by Sir George A. Grierson. (Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 247.) Calcutta, 1928.

The Laksmana Sambat. (JASB., New series, xxiii, p. 247.)

[Reply at the luncheon in honour of Sir George Grierson on the completion of the Linguistic Survey of India.] (JRAS, 1928, pp. 712-14.)

1929

The language of the Maha-naya-prakasa. An examination of Kashmiri as written in the fifteenth century. (Mem. ASB., xi, No. 2.) Calcutta, 1929.

Torwali, an account of a Dardic language of the Swat Kohistan. ...Based on materials collected in Torwal by Sir Aurel Stein. (Prize Publication Fund, vol. xi.) London, 1929.

The birth of Lorik (Magahi text). Edited by Sir George A. Grierson. (BSOS., v (1928-1930), pp. 591-9.)

The birth of Lorik. [Translation.) (Indian studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman, pp. 243-254.) Cambridge Mass., 1929.

Sita forlorn, a specimen of the Kashmiri Ramayana. Edited and translated. (BSOS, v (1928-1930), pp. 285-301.)

Vararuci and the Brahmaraksasa. (Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, vii, p. 96).

1930

The Kashmiri Ramayana, comprising the Sriramavataracarita and the Lavakusayuddhacarita of Divakara Prakasa Bhatta. Edited with an introduction and summary of the poem in English by Sir George A Grierson. (Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 253) Calcutta, 1930.

Lahnda and Lahndi (BSOS., v (1928-1930), pp. 883-7.)

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. i, Pt. ii. [A note.] (BSOS., v (1928-1930), pp. 961-2)

1931

Conjunct consonants in Dardic. (BSOS., vi (1930-2), pp. 349-368) *Part of* "A volume of Indian studies presented ...to Edward James Rapson...1931".

De Lahnda, Brokpa, et quibusdam aliis. (BSOS., vi (1930-2), pp. 817-18.)

On the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. (IA , lx-lxii, Supplement.)

The tale of Bethgelert, (Folk-Lore, xlii, pp. 488-9.)

Cheques in coffins. (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third series, x, pp. 53-4.)

1933

Hindustan and Hindostan. (BSOS., vii (1933-5), pp. 257-260.)

Urdu *AI*, *AU*. (BSOS., vii (1933-5), pp. 260-2.)

PART II. REVIEWS

Anderson (J. D.). A manual of the Bengali language. Cambridge, 1920 (*JRAS., 1920, pp 615-18.*)

Aufrecht (Theodor). Catalogus catalogorum. An alphabetical register of Sanskrit works and authors. Part III. Leipzig, 1903. (*IA., xxxiii, p. 32.*)

Bailey (T. Grahame). The languages of the northern Himalayas being studied in the grammar of twenty-six Himalayan dialects. (Asiatic Society monographs, vol. xii.) London, 1908. (*JRAS., 1909, pp. 184-9.*)

Banerji-Sastri (Anantaprasad). Evolution of Magadhi...Introduction Oxford, 1922. (*BSOS., ii pp. 805-7.*)

Barnett (L. D.). A catalogue of the Kannada, Badaga, and Kurg books in the Library of the British Museum. London, 1910 (*JRAS., 1912, pp 798-802.*)

Barnett (L. D). A catalogue of the Telugu books in the Library of the British Museum. London. 1912. (*JRAS., 1912, pp. 798-802.*)

Barnett (L. D.) and Pope (G. U.). A catalogue of the Tamil books in the Library of the British Museum. London, 1909. (*JRAS., 1912, pp. 798-802.*)

Bartholomae (Christian) Zum altiranischen Worterbuch. Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten. Strassburg, 1906 (*IA., xxxvi, p. 180.*)

Bendall (Cecil). Ciksbasamuccaya...compiled by Cantideva... Edited by Cecil Bendall. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, i,) Fasciculus i. St-Petersbourg, 1897. (*IA., xxvii, p. 84.*)

Beveridge (Annette S.). Tho key of the hearts of beginners...

Written down in Persian by Bibi Brooke, and transl by Annette S. Beveridge. London, 1908, (*JRAS.*, *pp 517-521.*)
Bhagawan Prasad (Sitarama-sarana). [The Bhakta-mala the *Tika* of Priya-dasa, and with a commentary entitl Bhaktisudha-svadu of Sri Sitarama-sarana Bhagawan (Rup-kala). Lucknow, 1926.] (*JRAS.*, *1928*, *p. 169.*)
Bhatta (Ramesvara). [The Vinaya-pattrika of Tulas With a commentary by ..Ramesvara Bhatta, Alla 1913.] *BSOS.*, *ii*, *pp. 810-12.*)
Bloch (Jules) La formation de la langue marathe. Paris, (*JRAS.*, *1921*, *pp. 251-263.*)
Blumhardt (J. F.). A supplementary catalogue of Hindi in the Library of the British Museum acquired...189: London, 1913. (*JRAS.*, *1913*, *pp. 1084-7.*)
Bray (Denys de S.). The Brahui language. Part 1. Ca 1909 (*JRAS.*, *1910*, *pp 908-12.*)
Buhler (Georg) Indian studies. No. III. On the origin (Indian Brahma alphabet. (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. demie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-hist(Classe. Band cxxxii.) Wien, 1895. (*IA.*, *xxiv*, *pp. 246-8*
Cowell (E. B) The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha. Ed by E B. Cowell. (Anecdota Oxoniensia.) Oxford, (*IA* , *xxiv*, *pp 179-180.*)
Crooke (W.). An introduction to the popular religio folklore of Northern India. Allahabad, 1894. (*JRAS.*, *pp. 874-8.*)
Cummings (Thomas F.) and Bailey (T. Grahame). P manual and grammar: a guide to the colloquial Panj the Northern Panjab Calcutta, 1912. (*JRAS.*, *pp 711-14.*)
Darmesteter (James). Chants popularies des Afghans. 1888-1890. (*IA.*, *xx*, *pp. 337-340*)
Dvivedi (Sudhakara). Ramakahani Balakanda in easy [Benares], 1908. (*JRAS.*, *1909*, *pp. 511-16*)
Dvivedi (Sudhakara) and Misra (Suryaprasada.) [M pattrika Benares, 1904—.] (*JRAS* , *1905*. *pp. 369-370.*
Fraser (J O.). Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) lan Rangoon, 1922. (*JRAS.*, *1923*, *pp. 284-8.*)
Frazer (R. W) Dravidians (South India). (Encyclopae Religion and Ethics, v, pp. 21-2.) Edinburgh, New 1912 (*JRAS.*, *1913*, *pp. 173-6.*)

Garbe (Richard). The Samkhya-pravacana-bhasya...by Vijnanabhiksu Edited by Richard Garbe (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. ii) Cambridge, Mass., 1895, (*IA., xxv, p. 232.*)

Giornale della Societa. Asiatica Italiana. Vol. iii. Roma, 1889. (*IA., xix, p. 286.*)

Gurdon (P. R. T.). The Khasis, London, 1907. (*JRAS., 1907, pp. 700-706.*)

Hoernle (A. F. Rudolf). The Uvasagadasao. .Edited...with the ...commentary of Abhaya Deva, and an English translation . by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. (Bibliotheca Indica.) Fasciculus i. Calcutta 1885. (*IA., xvi, pp. 78-80.*)

Hoffmann (J.). Mundari grammar. Calcutta. 1903. (*JRAS., 1908, pp. 222-8.*)

Jacob (G. A.). [Laukika-nyaya-njalih.] A handful of popular maxims current in Sanskrit literature. Bombay, 1900. (*JRAS, 1901 pp. 598-9.*)

Jacob (G. A.) The Vedantasara of Sadananda .. with the commentaries of Nrisimhasarasvati and Ramatirtha. Edited .. by...G. A Jacob. Bombay, 1894. (*IA., xxiii, p. 263.*)

Jacobi (Hermann). Das Ramayana. Geschichte und Inhalt .. Bonn, 1893. (*IA., xxiii, pp. 52-6.*)

Kern (Hendrik) The Jataka-mala...by Arya-Cura. Edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. i.) Cambridge, Mass, 1891. (*IA., xxv, p. 232.*)

Liebich (Bruno) Panini. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der indischen Literatur und Grammatik. Leipzig, 1891. (*IA., xxii, pp. 222-4*)

Liebich (Bruno) Sanskrit-Lesebuch. Leipzig, 1905. *IA., xxxv. p. 184.*)

Macdonell (Arthur A.). A Sanskrit-English dictionary. London 1893. (*IA., xxii, pp. 166-8.*)

Milne (Mrs. Leslie). An elementary Palaung grammar ..With an introduction by C. O. Blagden. Oxford, 1921. (*JRAS., 1922, pp. 107-9.*) (*BSOS., ii, pp. 339-340.*)

Morgenstierne (Georg). Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan. [Oslo, 1926.] (*JRAS, 1927, pp. 368-375.*)

[Nagari-pracharini patrika. New series. Vol. i, Nos. 1-2. Benares, 1920.] (*JRAS., 1921, pp. 286-7*)

Oldenberg (Hermann). Die Hymnen des Rigveda. Herausgegeben von Hermann Oldenberg. Band i. Berlin, 1888. (*IA., xix, pp. 286-8.*)

Phillott (D C.) Hindustani manual ..Third edition. Calcutta, 1918. (*JRAS , 1919, pp. 435-7.*)
Pischel (R) Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen. (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie. 1. Band, 8. Heft.) Strassburg, 1900. (*IA., xxx, pp. 553-6.*)
Ratnakara (Jagannatha Dasa). [Bihari-Ratnakara, arthat Bihari Satsai, par Ratnakari Tika. Lucknow, 1926.] (*JRAS., 1927. pp. 157-160*).
Rosen (Victor). Collections scientifiques de l' Institute des Langues Orientales . iii . (Les manuscrits persans decrits par...Victor Rosen.) Saint-Petersbourg, 1886. (*IA, xviii, pp. 95-6.*)
Ryder (Arthur William). The little clay cart...Translated...by Arthur William Ryder. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. ix.) Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (*JRAS., 1906, pp 258-260.*)
Sastri (Surendranath Majumdar). The dative plural in Pali. [Reprint of an article?] (*IA., liii, p. 68.*)
Schermann (Lucian). Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig-und Atharva-veda-sanhita verglichen mit den Philosophemen der alteren Upanishad's. Strassburg, 1887. (*IA., xviii, p. 386.*)
Schmidt (W.) ... Buch des Ragawan...Aus dem Mon ubersetzt .. von P. W. Schmidt. (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.) Wien, 1906. (*IA., xxxvi, p. 180.*)
Schmidt (W.). Die Mon-Khmer-Volker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Volkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens. Braunschweig 1906. (*JRAS., 1907 pp. 187-192.*) (*IA. xxxvi, p. 216.*)
Sen (Dineshchandra). The Bengali Ramayanas. Calcutta, 1920 (*JRAS., 1922. pp. 135-9.*)
Sen (R. R.). The triumph of Valmiki, from the Bengali of H. P. Shastri. Chittagong, 1909. (*JRAS., 1910, pp. 206-7*)
Sen Gupta (Kaviraj Dhurmo Dass). Nadi Vijnana...by... Sankara and Kanada. Translated into English from ...Sanskrit by Kaviraj Dhurmo Dass Sen Gupta. Calcutta, 1893. (*IA., xxiv, p. 180.*)
Senart (Emile), Notes d'epigraphie indienne, i. (Journal Asiatique, 8^{me} series, tome xi, pp. 504-533.) Paris, 1888 (*IA., xix, pp., 43-4.*)
Sorensen (S.). An index to the names in the Mahabharata. Part II. London, 1905. (*IA., xxxv, p. 184.*)
Temple (Sir R. C.). A native account of the thirty-seven Nats, being a translation of a rare Burmese manuscript. (*In* IA.,

xxxv, pp. 217-227.) (*JRAS., 1907, pp. 237-242.*)

Temple (Sir R. C.). The thirty-seven Nats, a phase of spirit-worship prevailing in Burma. London, 1906. (*JRAS., 1907, pp. 237-242.*)

Tessitori (L. P.). Il "Ramacaritamanasa" e il "Ramayana". (*In* Giornale della Societa Asiatica, Italiana, xxiv.) *JRAS., 1912. pp. 794-8.*)

Warren (Henry Clarke). Buddhism in translations. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. iii.) Cambridge, Mass., 1896. (*IA., xxv, p. 232.*)

Weber (A.), Ahalya,' *Αχιλλευς*, und Verwandtes. (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie, 1887.) (*IA., xvii, p. 302.*)

Weber (A.). Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Funfter Band. Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-und Prakrit-Handschriften, von A. Weber. Zweiter Band. Berlin, 1886-1892. (*IA. xvi, p. 316, xviii, p. 96, xxii, p. 112.*)

Weber (A.) Uber den Parasiprakaca des Krishnadasa. Berlin, 1887. (*IA , xvii, pp. 273-4.*)

Weber (A.). Vedische Beitrage. (Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie.) Berlin, 1894. (*IA., xxiv, pp. 177-9*).

Westcott (G. H.) Kabir and the Kabir Panth. Cawnpore, 1907. (*JRAS., 1908, pp. 245-8.*)

Whitehead (G.). Dictionary of the Car-Nicobarese language. Rangoon, 1925. (*IA., lvi, p. 214.*)

Winfield (W. W.). A grammar of the Kui language. (Bibliotheca Indica.) Calcutta, 1928. (*JRAS., 1928, pp. 931-3.*)

Woolner (Alfred C.). Introduction to Prakrit. Lahore, 1917. (*JRAS., 1921, pp. 633-5.*)

Zachariae (Theodor).. The Anekarthasamgraha of Hemachandra. Edited...by Theodor Zachariae. (Sources of Sanskrit lexicography, vol. i.) Vienna, 1893. (*IA., xxiii, p. 84.*)

CO-EXISTENCE AND THE NATION STATE

HUMAYUN KABIR

I consider it a privilege to contribute an article for the Birthday Volume of Dr. Zakir Husain. He is not only one of our most eminent educational thinkers, but also one of nature's own gentlemen. His intellect and his modesty, his courtesy and his consideration have endeared him to all and the nation has paid him the highest tribute by electing him President of India. There is a saying in India and Iran that you may live for a hundred years and may each day be equal to a decade. For few can it be said so truthfully that his life has been a benediction and may he live long to serve India and the world.

Co-existence as a political principle was perhaps first put into practice in the modern world by Lenin. The application was however regional and did not find universal acceptance. It is well-known that the Western Powers did at first try to intervene in Soviet affairs. Partly war weariness, partly the vast geographical expanse of the Soviet Union and partly the rugged resistance of Soviet citizens soon made them realise that the overthrow of the Soviet Union would not be easy. For purely pragmatic reasons, co-existence on the practical but not on the ideological plane therefore became the pattern of relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. This state of affairs continued till the emergence of Hitler posed a common threat to both Western Europe and Soviet Union. They had to cooperate in order to survive, but their cooperation was hedged by mental reservations on both sides. Co-existence thus remained a connection to political reality but did not become an accepted philosophical stand.

The credit for making the idea of co-existence an acceptable political philosophy belongs largely to the late Jawaharlal Nehru. He was helped in the task not only by President

Soekarno, Marshall Tito and President Nasser but also b Mr. Chou En Lai. Whatever may be the Chinese attitud to co-existence today, the earlier Chinese acceptance of th principle did help to make it respectable in large areas of th world.

The Western Powers and particularly the U.S.A. for a tim denounced the idea of co-existence but gradually came t recognise its utility in a world where atomic deterrence was n longer the monopoly of any one State. Khrushchev's majc contribution to the philosophy of co-existence was his blur recognition that war had become too dangerous to be an instru ment of policy in the modern world. The advances in techno logy and specially the fantastic developments in nuclea weapons have created a situation where war can lead only t the destruction of mankind. With the realisation that ther will be neither victor nor vanquished in case of a conflict, th very purpose of waging war has disappeared. In fact, situation has developed today where violence can no longe serve individual or national ends.

If war or organised violence can no longer serve as an instru ment of national policy, revolution or unorganised violence ca not fulfil individual or group purposes. Just as the growth c civil society has outlawed the private use of force in individu conflicts, the developments of modern technology have ou moded the application of sporadic violence in group conflict This rules out violent revolutions for reasons which I hav indicated in some detail in my book '*Science, Democracy an Islam*' and can briefly reiterate them as follows :

(a) All societies are in a state of constant change bu social forms and institutions tend to become static an rigid. There are thus incipient stresses and tension within every society at all times.

(b) Revolutions take place when internal stresses an tensions become intolerable, but from the nature c the case, they are bound to give rise to opposite stress and tensions unless resolved in a just and equitab manner through peaceful methods.

(c) When a violent revolution takes place, the chances a that a stable equilibrium will not be established but new and different kind of dis-equilibrium created lea

ing to the need of further and perhaps even more ' lent revolutions.

(d) There is no guarantee that a revolution must succ and a defeated revolution will lead to greater hui suffering than the situation which existed before revolution,

The development of new weapons of terror has givei additional edge to the argument against violent revoluti‹ An Indian intellectual, M.N. Roy, pointed out in the thirties that modern weaponary enables a small apparatus keep large masses of men under almost perpetual subjugat In earlier civil conflicts the antagonists faced one ano and a point was often reached when the policeman or soldier refused to kill fellow citizens any more. Today, defenders of a Government need not come into contact ' the rebellious masses, for modern instruments of destruction and do operate by remote control.

In addition to the argument advanced by M.N. Roy, tl is another reason why violent revolutions have lost their ji fication in the context of the present world. In earlier d each State was a closed system largely insulated against out influences. Events in one country did not generally hav‹ immediate impact on others. Before the introduction of telegraph, ideas could travel only as far and as fast as men c‹ move physically and physical movement even in 1850 was ba a hundred miles a day. Today improvements in trans and even more in communications have broken down ii national barriers. No State, not even an absolute dictators can completely shut out external influences, whether mat‹ or ideological. The result is that every internal conflict tc has international implications and may lead to far fi clashes which none of the participants wished or foresaw. experience of limited wars in the last twenty years may s to contradict this statement but students of international a know that nations have been walking on the edge of precipice all the time. Brinkmanship has today become dangerous to be regarded as statemanship.

After almost a thousand years of struggle, mankind reconciled itself to the co-existence of religions. The last t

or four centuries have seen the growth of a recognition that different political systems will also co-exist. Today we have to learn to live in a world where there are not only different religions and political systems but also nations with different end at times conflicting economic and social outlooks. Different economic and social systems have co-existed in the past mainly because they operated in comparative isolation. As soon as the growth of industrialisation pointed towards a common world market, the economic systems came into violent clash for possession of raw materials and markets. The clash of contrary economic systems is today a greater danger to world peace than even the clash of ideologies.

The last two hundred years have seen the gradual subsidence of conflicts based on religion or nationhood. Instead, there have been imperial struggles to secure a dominant position in the world economy. These struggles have usually been given an ideological cover and the tendency persists to this day. In the meantime, spectacular advances in science and technology have on the one hand outmoded war and on the other increased enormously man's capacity for production and distribution of goods and services of every type. In the changed situation, colonialism has become obsolete and the world demands an acceptance of co-existence in the economic as in other spheres of life. Khrushchev made a significant contribution when he advocated peaceful competition between capitalism and communism as methods of social production and distribution. The stage is thus set for a common human society, but the move towards it is being obstructed by the worship of the nation State. National sovereignty was an instrument of progress in the days of imperial domination but has today become a threat to human survival.

In a world where any violent clash—internal or external—carries with it the risk of total annihilation, a major task of man is to find out methods of dealing peacefully with differences, whether material or ideological. Within the nation State, this has largely been achieved by setting up neutral institutions to settle disputes. An individual has no longer the right to punish on his own an offender who has done him civil or criminal injury. He has to submit to the process of law and

even if there are occasional cases of miscarriage of justice, mankind has realised that such lapses are preferable to the anarchy which would result if the individual were to be an arbiter in his own case. This realisation has grown as a result of the experience of centuries but man has not so far extended the principle of neutral judges to cases of group conflicts. It is sometimes argued that neutral judges cannot be found in cases of group conflicts but similar suspicions at one time attached also to judges who decided conflicts among individuals. In the past, group conflicts were generally localised and the capacity of the parties to injure one another was limited. Today, when group difference carry the risk of global clashes and the total annihilation of man, it has become imperative to devise measures which will permit their solution through peaceful means. If mankind is to survive, principles and methods which have proved successful in internal conflicts must be applied to group and national disputes.

In the case of the individual, the rule of law has grown through discussion, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. In group conflicts also, the principle of negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration must now be applied. The individual has found security by surrendering part of his freedom of action. Groups are reaching towards that end as labour and other welfare legislation in many countries indicates. Nation States must now move in the same direction by voluntarily surrendering part of their freedom of action. Nor will such surrender be something entirely novel. Already states have accepted limitations on their freedom of action through treaties, agreements and their membership of various international organisations culminating in the United Nations.

It is again said that while nations have entered into treaties and agreements which limit their freedom, they have retained their sovereign right to act in self-defence. This does not however differentiate the case of the Nation State from that of the private individual. The individual also has a right of self-defence but is liable to be called to account if he uses excessive force and neutral body decides whether the amount of force used was excessive. In the international field, a nation may retain the same right of self-defence but here also there must be a neutral body to decide whether the force used was excessive.

Subject to this inherent right nations must agree to extend the process of law to group conflicts and accept mediation and arbitration as alternatives to war. Such mediation or arbtration may—as it sometimes does in individual cases—lead to occasional injustice but even then must be preferred to the alternative of war which can spell only ruin to the parties immediately concerned and ultimately to the whole world.

RELEVANCE OF ADAM SMITH'S THEORY

MOHAMMAD SHABBIR KHAN

It cannot be claimed that Adam Smith propounded a theory of growth in the sense in which it is understood in modern literature on economic development. Yet he did make a significant contribution to the problems of economic development, however crude and incomplete, discussing them in terms of the theory of production.

According to Adam Smith self-interest is the prime mover of economic development. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* he denotes 'self-love' or 'self-interest' as deception but "it is this deception which rouses and keeps in continual motion the industry of mankind. It is this which first prompted them to cultivate the ground, to build houses, to found cities and commonwealths, and to invent and improve all the sciences and arts, which ennoble and embellish human life; which have entirely changed the whole face of the globe, have turned the rude forests of nature into agreeable and fertile plains, and made the trackless and barren ocean a new fund of subsistence, and the great high road of communication to the different nations of the earth."[1] The economic man of the *Wealth of Nations* is overwhelmed by the force of self-interest. It is a biological trait which 'comes with us from the womb, and never leaves

1. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Henry. G. Bohn York Street, Convent Garden, London, 1853, pp. 263-64. Subsequently in discussing Dr. Hutcheson's system of Moral Philosophy, Adam Smith approves the motive of self-interest. He says: 'Regard to our own private happiness and interest, too, appear upon many occasions very laudable principles of action. The habits of economy, industry, descretion, attention and application of thought, are generally supposed to be cultivated from self-interested motives, and at the same time are apprehended to be very praiseworthy qualities, which deserve the esteem and approbation of every body'. Ibid, p. 445.

us till we go into the grave'.[1] It becomes the uniform and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition.

Having considered the motive of self-interest such a great force for the betterment of one's condition and, for that matter, the progress of the society it is surprising that many countrtes should continue so poor as they are for such a long time. Can it be due to difference in natural talents? Adam Smith would say no because 'the difference of natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause, as the effect of the division of labour. The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street porter, for example, seems to arise not so much from nature, as from habit, custom, and education'.[2] In his opinion the differences in the political and social institutions in different countries can account, to a considerable extent, the difference in their levels of economic development.

The first essential condition for the expression of self-interest is the tolerable security prevailing in a country. A man would be perfectly 'crazy' if he does not use his stock either for purpose of immediate consumption or for making a profit out of it But in the rude society the needed security is difficult to establish because in such society 'nothing is honourable but war'. "In the Odyssey, Ulysses is sometimes asked by way of affront, whether he be a pirate or a merchant. At that time a merchant was reckoned odious and despicable; but a pirate or robber, as he was a man of military bravery, was treated with honour"[3]. In such a situation the people will generally bury their valuables and belongings to invest against

1. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, The Modern Library, New York, 1937, p. 324.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. Adam Smith, *Lectures on Justice Police, Revenue and Arms*, Kelley and Millman Inc. New York, 1956, pp. 231-32.

risk or disaster to which they consider themselves at all times exposed.[1]

It is not that all underdeveloped countries are in such a state of affairs. One of the major contributions of John Kenneth Galbraith is to show that it is not very meaningful to divide the world into the developed and underdeveloped countries Rather economic development should be considered a process, 'one that extends in range from new nations of Africa, but slightly removed from their tribal structure, to the elaborate economic and social apparatus of Western nations'.[2] And there is no doubt about the fact that in the countries rather low in the ladder of economic development the effective government is the first essential condition for any hope of economic development.

Further, in the economically backward societies the 'rustic hospitability' is preferred to the motive of self-interest. Adam Smith quotes from Dr. Richard Pococke's description of the East to show that an Arab prince often dines in the street before his door and calls to all those who pass by (including the beggars) in the usual expression 'Bismillah' i.e. in the name of God who join and when they have finished their dinner given him Hamdellilah i.e. God is praised. It is through such generosity and hospitability that the Arab families show their benevolence. The principles that are really beneficial to the society are disdained in the less-developed countries. Adam Smith says: 'We may observe that those principles of the human mind which are most beneficial to society, are by no means marked by nature as the most honourable. Hunger, thirst, and the passion for six are the great supports of the human species, yet almost every expression of these excites contempt. In the same manner, that principle in the mind which prompts to truck, barter, and exchange, though it is the great foundation of arts, commerce, and the division of labour, yet it is not marked with anything amiable. To perform anything or to give anything without a reward, is always generous and noble, but to barter one thing for another is mean.

1. Cf. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 268.
2. J. K. Galbraith, *Economic Development*, Harvard University Press 1964 Cambridge, Mass. pp. 45-46.

The plain reason for this is that these principles are so strongly implanted by nature that they have no occasion for that additional force which the weaker principles need. In rude ages this contempt rises to the highest pitch, and even in a refined society it is not utterly extinguished'.[1]

Adam Smith suggests that the development of the means of communication and transport help appreciation of self-interest and the extension of the division of labour.[2] Since in his days the water carriage was one of the most important means of transport he suggested that it was natural that the first improvements of the industry would take place where the water carriages were most developed. He supports his *a priori* reasoning by appealing to the historical fact that the first civilized nations were all along the coast of the Mediterranean sea. The early development in Egypt, Bengal and the easter provinces of China have also been attributed to the navigable rivers in all of them which facilitated the water carriages.[3]

After the initial difficulties of the establishment of an effective government and the appreciation of self-interest for the betterment of one's own material progress are overcome, it is only natural, according to Adam Smith, that the development of agriculture should be given the first priority, He remarks : 'As subsistence is, in the nature of things, prior to conveniency and luxury, so the industry which procures the former, must necessarily be prior to that which ministers to the latter. The cultivation and improvement of the country, therefore, which affords subsistence, must, necessarily, be prior to the increase of the town, which furnishes only the means of conveniency and luxury. It is the surplus produce of the country only, or what is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, that constitutes the subsistence of the town, which can therefore increase only with the increase of this surplus produce.'[4] It is not that the development of agriculture means the neglect of manufactures. As a matter of fact the development of both the sectors act and interact upon each other. The agricultural sector supplies the manufacturing sector with the

1. Adam Smith, *Lectures*, 232
2. Ibid., p. 172.
3. Cf. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, pp 19-20.
4. Ibid., p. 357.

means of subsistence and the materials of manufactures and the manufacturing sector in its turn supplies the agricultural sector with the manufactured produce which provide them an incentive to produce more.[1] Thus the progress of agriculture and of manufacture both reinforces each other. The process pf urbanisation is as much a sign for the development of agriculture as it is that of the development of manufacture 'for the populousness of a town is the very cause of the populousness of the country, because it gives greater encouragement to industry. Every man in a town must be fed by another in the country, and it is always a sign that the country is improving when men go to town'.[2] However, one cannot conclude from the above that the development of manufactures should be given priority to that of agriculture. The natural course of things is the development of manufactures via that of agriculture. In many European countries the development of manufacture has preceded that of agriculture; but this process being contrary to the natural course of things is necessarily both slow and uncertain, As the wealth of the North American Colonies was founded on agriculture. their rate of economic development was much faster than that of the European countries whose wealth depended on commerce and manufactures. This natural course of things is also favoured by the natural preference of man for agriculture. Adam Smith remarks · 'The beauty of the country besides, the pleasures of a country life, the tranquility of mind which it promises, and wherever the injustice of human laws does not disturb it, the independency which it really affords, have charms that more or less attract every body, and as to cultivate the ground was the original destination of man, so in every stage of his existence he seems to retain a predilection for this primitive employment[3]'.

Even thougn it seems trivial, it is of utmost importance to realise that the lack of development of agriculture can be the greatest bottleneck in the development process of the underdeveloped countriss. John A. Adler, the Director of Institute of Economic Development, IBRD, has pointed out that one of the most important lessons that can be said to have been learnt

1. Ibid cf. p. 356.
2. Adam Smith : *Lectures*, p 320.
3. Adam Smith : *Wealth of Nations*, p. 358.

ast ten or twenty years is that the agricultural surplus is the most important requirements for economic develop- ' underdeveloped countries.[1] This needs special emphasis : the underdeveloped regions have got special bias in of industrialisation. This is not only due to their :y for manufacturing industry because of their contention ınufacturing industry is more productive than agriculture, t industrialisation is needed to absorb the incre ısing ion but also because in these countries the leaders go in ıonstration in inaugurating big projects even though they have little effect on the developmental process in the '.

ording to Adam Smith whatever tends to retard the :ment of agriculture is extremely prejudicial to the nterest because it leads to the slowing down of the s. One great hinderence to the progress of agriculture wnership of land by big landlords who have neither the ion nor the necessity of making those small improve- vhich are required for the development of agriculture. ›rove land with profit, like all other commercial projects, ; an exact attention to small savings and small gains, of man born to a great fortune, even though naturally 's very seldom capable. The situation of such a person y disposes him to attend rather to ornament which his fancy, than to profit for which he has so little ı. The elegance of his dress, of his equipage, of his ınd household furniture, are projects which from his he had been accustomed to have some anxiety about.'[2] ants at will, on the other hand, have no interest in any improvements.[3]' This accounts for Adam Smith's for what are now-a-days known as land reforms as a isite for rapid rate of economic development.

rt from the political and social institutions, Adam Smith hat the two most important causes in the increase of lth of the nations are the skill, dexterity and judgement

f. Adler, J H., What We learned About Development, *Finance d Development*, September 1966, p. 162.
dam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 364.
f. Ibid., p. 367.

of labourers and the proportion of the productive to the non-productive workers. After emphasising in the first two paragraphs of the introduction and the plan of work that the wealth of a nation consists of the annual produce of its labour, which supplies all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes and that it should be measured by its average and not its aggregate wealth, he goes on to say that this per capita annual produce 'must in every nation be regulated by two different circumstances; first, by the skill, dexterity and judgement with which its labour is generally applied; and, secondly, by the proportion between the number of those who are employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed. Whatever be the soil, climate, or extent of the territory of any particular nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must, in that particular situation, depend upon those two circumstances'.[1] Cannan is, however, of the view that of the two causes determining the average produce per head of population the second (viz., the proportion between the number of those who are employed in useful labour and that of those who are not so employed) should be considered before the first (viz., the skill, dexterity and judgement with which its labour is gradually applied to industry). The two circumstances as mentioned by Adam Smith are, according to him, evidently in the wrong order. We ought to consider what proportion of population is usefully employed before we are to consider the efficiency of the employed persons. The need of this order is further necessitated, argues Cannan, by the fact that we are assured by Adam Smith that the number of useful and productive labourers is dependent on the amount of capital and the way in which capital is used.[2]

Cannan explain this discrepancy in Adam Smith on the ground that in his *Lectures*, which are the foundations of the *Wealth of Nations* there is no mention of capital or distinction between productive and unproductive labour; and even stock has been casually mentioned. It was due to the influence of the Physiocrats during his visit to France that he adopted the notion of a definite concept of productive labour set at work with a particular kind of expenditure known as capital. This new doctrine forms the main contents of Book II, 'of the

1. Ibid.,p. LVII
2. Cf. Adam Smith· *Lectures* (Editor's Introduction) pp. xxix-x

:, Accumulation and Employment of Stock' in the *Wealth ions*. And therefore, concludes Cannan, though Adam should have begun his Treatise "with a dissertation on ! yet he did not like to do as he had already, in his *es*, begun his treatment of the subject with his disserta- ı the productive powers of labour, and had incidentally l of stock in store not as something indispensable before can be set in motion, but merely as something required, he ages of hunting and fishing,' or 'when manufacturers ıtroduced' and 'a great deal of time', required. It would een astonishing if he had been willing to relegate his own nt disquisition on the division of labour to the second and consequently no surprise need be felt that capital .ed only in the second Book, in spite of the adoption of w of the *Tableau* as to its function in governing the t of the productive labour'.[1]

w this view is tenable only on the ground that Adam did consider the skill, dexterity and judgement of the ers employed as of secondary importance—the primary he proportion between those who are employed in useful and those who are not so employed—in determining the tion of per capital per annum national income The fact :r is otherwise. A careful perusal of section I of the *of Nations* shows that Adam Smith had undiminished ı the capability of the efficient and trained labour to bout rapid rate of economic development. Recently it g increasingly realised that howsoever important physi- ital may be from the point of view of putting the labour ion, the greater part of productivity is to be attributed ıan capital rather than physical capital. Human capital ing but the skill, dexterity and judgement of those who to work. It certainly goes to the credit of Adam Smith 'en at a time when the technical progress was taking ıt a fast speed he realised the importance of the efficiency ıur in increasing the wealth of a nation.

us now discuss the question of skill, dexterity and the ıent of the labourers in some detail.

d., p. xxx.

In his *Lectures* Adam Smith has made the division of labour and the industry of the people as interdependent and enforcing each other. He says : 'Thus the division of labour is the great cause of the increase of public opulence, which is always proportioned to the industry of the people, and not to the quantity of gold and silver, as is foolishly imagined, and the industry of the people is always proportioned to the division of labour.[1]

We must note that by division of labour Adam Smith does not mean simply the division and subdivision of work in a certain firm only. He extends the definition of the division of labour to cover the division of work into separate professions and the division of manufacturers into several industries. It is because of the division of labour that in an improved society a farmer is nothing but a farmer and a manufacturer is nothing but a manufacturer. The different trades employed in the branch of linen aud woollen manufactures from the grower of flex and the wool, to the bleachers and smoothers of linen, or the dyers and the dressers of the cloth' are all attributed to the division of labour.[2]

Because of the division of labour each individual becomes expert in his particular branch, more work is done upon the whole. and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it.[3]

This shows, that those branches of industries which by their nature are capable of division and subdivision into various branches greately increase the productivity of labour by increasing their efficiency as against those that cannot be so divided The nature of agriculture, according to Adam Smith, is such that it cannot be divided and subdivided into various branches. On the other hand there are great possibilities of the division of branches in manufactures. This is why the productive powers of labours in agriculture cannot increase so much as of those in manufactures. Consequently the developed countries are characterised by their development of industries rather than by that of agriculture. He says : 'This impossi-

1 Ibid., p. 172

2. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, pp. 5-6.

3 Ibid., p. 10.

bility of making so complete and entire a separation of all the different branches of labour employed in agriculture, is perhaps the reason why the improvement of the productive powers of labour in this art, does not always keep pace with their improvement in manufacturers. The most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbours in agriculture as well as in manufacturers; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former[1].'

This shows that the desire on the part of the under-developed countries for industrialisation is not so unreasonable. The basic question, however, is that by giving priority to the agricultural sector the process of industrialisation can be facilitated and the rate of development accelerated. It is a little too much to say, as Prof. Bauer has said, that prosperity and industrialisation are not always closely related,[2] although it will certainly be correct to argue that without developed agriculture the development of manufactures will not be possible, or else if a country is not adequately endowed to produce its own food it will have to ensure supply of food grains from abroad.

This division of labour although sustained and expanded on the basis of self-interest has its limitation to expand due to the extent of the market.[3] In *Lectures* he says : 'If ten people only want a certain commodity, the manufacture of it will never be so divided as if a thousand wanted it'.[4] Since the extent of the market, in its turn is dependent on the extent of demand, the obvious conclusion that emerges from this statement is that the lack of demand, because of the lack of purchasing power and general poverty of the masses, is bound to hinder the extension of division of labour, improvement of agriculture and expansion of manufacturing industries. It also means that the vertical disintegration and geographical expan-

1. Ibid., p. 6.
2. Cf. Bauer, P.T, *Indian Economic Policy and Development*, George Allen and Unwich Ltd., London 1961, p. 61.
3. Cf. Adam Smith : *Wealth of Nations*, p. 17.
4. Adam Smith, *Lectures*, p. 172.

sion of industries can take place only if the economy is perous and growing.

This shows that the difficulty in initiating the proc economic development lies not only in the lack of supp physical and human resources to bring about development also in the lack of market for the products. It is well-k that Allyn Young suggested a reinterpretation of the fa remark of Adam Smith that division of labour is limit the extent of market into the proposition that the induce to invest is limited by the size of the market,[1] and s quently Ragner Nurkse made use of the proposition in loping his theory of balanced growth in regard to the dev ment of the underdeveloped countries.[2]

It is, however, necessary to understand the implica of Adam Smith's observation. It means that the divisi labour and consequently investment will be facilitated improving the means of communication and transport still further by extending the area of exchange to the market not only in the sense of existing market but al the sense of the possible demand for the new commo from the existing partners of trade and that of old co dities from the new market.

Another important question that is needed in interpr Adam Smith in the way in which Allyn Young and fo matter Ragner Nurkse have done is to see that *there is a d ence* between the extension of the division of labour inducement to investment. It is possible in the underdevel countries, in spite of their poverty, to increase invest with a careful choice of technology depending upon factor endowments. If, however, the underdeveloped cou

1. Allyn Young. *Increasing Returns and Economic Progress the Economic Journal*, December 1928.
2. Ragner Nurkse Some International Aspects of the Proble of Economic Development in *the American Economic Rev* May, 1952.
   Also his *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdevelo Countries* (7th impression) Oxford,Baril Blackwall Chapte 1960.

were to adopt highly developed technology taken from the developed countries, then the inducement to investment will certainly be limited. The smallness of the market is always in relation to the scale of production which, in its turn, depends on the choice of technique. Adam Smith's observation does not mean to suggest that a limited market for products would hinder all investments, but it certainly does mean that it would not allow more advanced techniques and further subdivision of labour.

Adam Smith has been criticised for giving a limited explanation of the causes of the improvement of productive efficiency of the workers. Cannan, for instance, says that "while the greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour and the greater part of the skill, dexterity and judgement have been attributed to the division of labour, we hear nothing of the minor causes of improvement and the smaller part of the skill, dexterity and judgement. The first four chapters of Book I remain what they were in all probability originally intended to be, an essay on the causes and consequences of the division of labour. Thus they contain only a fragment, although, doubtless in Adam Smith's opinion a large fragment of a theory as to the skill, dexterity and judgement with which labour is generally applied.'[1] Of course, Adam Smith says nothing about the social, geographical and cultural causes of the improvements of efficiency of labour. But in the limited field of economics we find that he has specifically mentioned certain problems of incentives to workers and also the effects of better education on their efficiency. He has condemned the 'combination of masters'[2] to reduce the wages of the workers. The high wages have been justified both on the ground of equality as well as efficiency. But he was cautious enough to emphasise that the high wage rates were associated with the increasing rate of progress of an economy. A wealthy nation, however rich it might have been, if it has stopped growing will not allow high wage rate. It is not

1. Edwin Cannan, *History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776* to 1848, (3rd Edition) London, King, 1924 pp. 36-37.
2. Cf. *Wealth of Nations*, pp. 66-67.

the actual greatness of national wealth, but its continual increase, which occasions rise in the wages of labour. It is not, accordingly, in the richest countries, but in the most thriving, or in those which are growing rich the fastest, that the wages of labour are highest. England is certainly, "in the present times," a much richer country than any part of North America. The wages of labour, however, are much higher in North America than in any part of England'.[1] China has been mentioned as an example as one of the richest, but long stationary country and hence the miserable condition of the labourers there[2]. Bengal is said to be a declining country and hence there are deaths of starvation and hunger[3]. The liberal reward of wages are the symptoms of increasing national wealth, the scanty maintainance of the poor, of stationary and standstill conditions and hunger and starvation shows that the countries are going fast backwards [4]

These observation by Adam Smith are of great significance to the present day underdeveloped countries. We are all aware that the process of accumulation in the early stages of the now advanced countries was facilitated by the low wage rate prevailing in those times. The present day underdeveloped countries are as much anxious to ensure social justice and equitable distribution of wealth as rapid rate of economic development. However it is necessary to keep in mind that the rise in the wage rate must be related to the rise in productivity. The labour leaders as well as the governments of the underdeveloped countries should clearly note that it is in the growing economy that the chances of the wage rise are the greatest so that the efforts at the equitable distribution of wealth must not lead to the disincentive for investment and accumulation.

Adam Smith has also emphasized the importance of education and training in increasing the skill, dexterity and hence productivity of the workers. As a matter of fact the expenditure in education and training has been said to be a real investment in the form of fixed capital which is a lasting source of

1. Ibid., p 69
2. Ibid., pp. 71-72
3. Ibid., p. 73.
4. Ibid., pp. 73-74.

revenue. The required and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society are an important category of fixed capital. 'The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realised, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which faciliates and abridges labour, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit'.[1] While discussing the factors responsible for low scales of pay of teachers and men of letters and lamenting their conditions he remarks: 'This inequality is upon the whole, perhaps, rather advantageous than hurtful to the public. It may somewhat degrade the profession of a public teacher; but the cheapness of literary education is surely an advantage which greatly overbalances this trifling inconveniency'.[2]

These remarks are very refreshing and useful in the context of the present day tendency in the developing countries to regard the ratio of investment in physical capital to the national income as *the* determinant factor of economic development. The refined tools of the modern theory of economic growth like capital output ratio lead quite unintentionally to the belief that there is a rigid technical ratio between the physical capital and the increase of income. This is a very serious situation. The recent studies conducted in the USA particularly by Theodore Schultz and Abromotiz show that the greater part of the productivity in the USA has been due to the human capital rather than the physical inputs. It is encouraging to see that Adam Smith was prepared to accept the relatively poor income of the scholars because it led to expansion of education and therefore to increase in production!

We may now proceed to consider the second important cause of the increase in production of per capita national income viz., 'the proportion between the number of those who

1. Ibid., pp. 265-66,
2. Ibid., p. 134.

are employed in useful labour, and those who are not so employed'. Adam Smith says that 'the number of useful and productive labourers, it will hereafter appear, is everywhere in proportion to the quantity of capital stock which is employed in setting them to work, and to the particular way in which it is so employed'.[1] This shows the importance of capital and the ways in which capital is employed in determining the growth of per capita national income.

The immediate cause of accumulation has been suggested to be parsimony and not industry. Although industry (i.e. hard work) in effect increases productivity; but howsoever production is increased 'if parsimony did not save and store up, the capital would never be the greater'.[2] Every frugal man, therefore, has been considered as a public benefactor and every prodigal, a public enemy. Just as frugality increases saving and accumulation, prodigality diminishes it. Capitals are also diminished by misconduct. But though prodigality and mis-conduct diminish the capital, in all societies in which life and property are protected by the state, the desire for frugality always more than counter-balances the desire for prodigality and the effects of misconduct. This has been attributed to the motive of self-interest and better one's condition. Adam Smith says : 'The principle which prompts to expense, is the passion for present enjoyment; which, though sometimes violent and very difficult to be restrained, is in general only momentary and occasional. But the principle which prompts to save, is the desire of bettering our conditions, a desire, which, though generally calm and dispassionate, comes with us from the womb, and never leaves us till we go into the grave .. ..Though the principle of expense, therefore, prevails in almost all men upon some occasions, and in some men upon almost all occasions, yet in the greater part of men, taking the whole course of their life at an average, the principle of frugality seems not only to predominate, but to predominate very greatly.'[3]

However, the state is considered to be most extravagant and amenable to misconduct. The reason that Adam Smith

1. Ibid., p. lviii.
2. Ibid., p. 321.
3. Ibid., pp. 324-25.

advances to justify his apprehension is that the whole or at least a greater part of public revenue is employed in maintaining (what Adam Smith calls) unproductive hands. 'Such are the people who compose a numerous and splendid court, a great ecclesiastical establishment, great fleets and armies, who in time of peace produce nothing, and in time of war acquire nothing which can compensate the expense of maintaining them, even while the war lasts. Such people, as they themselves produce nothing, are all maintained by the produce of other men's labour. When multiplied, therefore, to an unnecessary number, they may in a particular year consume so great share of produce, as not to leave a sufficiency for maintaining the productive labourers who should reproduce it next year'.[1] Since it is now realized that the test of productivity should be usefulness or utility, it is obvious that maintaining a reasonable number of fleets and armies cannot always be said to be an extravagance or a sign of misconduct. Yet so far as charges of keeping 'splendid courts' and ecclesiastical establishment are concerned, it can hardly be denied that Adam Smith did put his finger on the most important source of leakage in capital formation in an economy. However, the motive of self-interest on the part of the people to better their condition is suggested to more than compensate all prodigality and misconduct of not only the private people but also of public sectors. It is observed : 'The uniform, constant, and un-interrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principles from which public and national, as well as private opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to mainiain the natural progress of things toward improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government, and of the greatest errors of administration. Like the unknown principle of animal life, it frequently restores health and vigour to the constitution, in spite, not only of the desire but of the absurd prescriptions of the doctor'.[2]

This is due to Adam Smith's faith in the *laissez faire*. Today there is hardly any country, whether developed or underdeveloped, that will wholly subscribe to the view. In most developing countries the state is regarded as one of the important, if not the most important, agents to bring about

1. Ibid., p. 325.
2 Ibid., p. 326.

economic development. Nevertheless, these states can learr great deal from Adam Smith insofar as they need preservi the incentive of the private sector to accumulate by letting t people express their desire to better their conditions throu the principle of frugality and still more by seeing to it that th (i.e. the States) themselves are not exposed to the charges the extravagance in increasing the unproductive curre expenditure.

Having assured that the motive of self-interest was stro enough to save and accumulate Adam Smith proceeds to sugg that this accumulation should be previous to the application industry. The accumulation should be sufficient enough n only for the period when the process of production completed but also the produce sold. 'A weaver cannot app himself entirely to his peculiar business, unless there is befor hand stored up somewhere, either in his own possession or that of some other person, a stock sufficient to maintain hi and to supply him with the materials and tools of his wor till he has not only completed but sold his web'.[1]

Now this statement is only a half-truth. While it is tr that some capital must be accumulated betore the process production started, it is by no means necessary that tl whole of the capital sufficient to provide the workers ar prepare the material should be accumulated beforehan Maintenance and the materials are to be supplied as the wo proceeds rather than stored up beforehand. After the proce of production is well under way the processes of productic and consumption are synchronised and consequently the pr cesses of savings and investment can go hand in hand. It surprising that this did not occur to Adam Smith particular in view of the fact that in his whole discussion of capital l defines it out of produce per annum rather than as sto previously accumulated.

However, the proportion between that part of the annu produce which is to replace capital and that part of it whi is meant for revenue is suggested to determine broadly t

1. Ibid., p. 259.

proportion between the productive and unproductive workers. The proportion of the annual produce meant for replacing the capital is not only greater in rich than in poor countries but is also in much greater proportion to that which is meant for revenue After giving several examples from historical facts of the prosperous countries having greater proportion of capital to revenue, Adam Smith concludes : 'The proportion between capital and revenue, therefore, seems everywhere to regulate the proportion between industry and idleness. Wherever capital predominents, industry prevails: wherever revenue, idleness. Every increase or diminution of capital, therefore, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands'.[1]

The great emphasis on accumulation being previous to the application of industry and the proposition that the greater the proportion of capital to that of revenue the greater will be the prosperity of the nation have unnecessarily (although not intentionally) led to the view that all personal expenditure is something in the nature of a liability on the economy. But it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the underdeveloped countries, where the standard of living is miserably low, an expenditure on a properly chosen commodities can lead to an increase in the efficiency of the people and thereby productivity at large. J B. S. Haldane has very aptely pointed out: 'A rise in consumption in Britain would have very little effect on the efficiency of workers. In India it might have a large effect if it were mainly an increase in the food intake of certain groups of workers, and in their consumption of drugs such as antimalarials, which combat debilitating diseases . This would be an argument against too high a value of λ (i.e proportion of investments in capital good industries) in the early stages of a planned economy. It is in fact possible that in a country like India where malnutrition and disease seriously handicap production it might be worth separating investment into three categories, investment in investment goods industries, investment in consumer goods industries where the goods produced substantially increase the efficiency of industrial workers, and investment in other consumer goods industries. The second category would be relatively unimportant in countries with a

1. Ibid., pp. 320-21.

higher standard of living.'[1]. However, the underdeveloped countries will be well advised to learn that it is through increasing their savings and accumulation that they can increase the industry of the people. Anything that is prejudicial to the capital formation, other things being equal, is injurious from the point of view of achieving a rapid rate of economic development.

We are told that the number of the useful and the productive labourers depends not only on the quantity of capital stock but also on the particular way in which it is employed. The capital can be employed in either of the four ways : (i) in procuring raw produce from the ground, (ii) in manufacturing that produce for consumption (iii) in transporting the raw produce or the final commodities from the place where they are to the place where they are wanted (iv) in dividing particular portions of either into such small parcels as to meet the occasional demand of those who want them.[2] In short, capital may be invested in agriculture and mining, in manufactures, in commerce or in retail trade. Adam Smith says: 'Equal capital, however employed in each of those four different ways, will immediately put into motion very different quantities of productive labour, and augment too in very different proportions the value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the society to which they belong.'[3]

A given capital puts into motion the least labour when used in retail trade, more when used in wholesale trade, still more in manufactures and most of all in agriculture and mining. It will be the least in the retail trade because the retailer himself is the only productive labourer who is employed in it, more in wholesale because it employs the sailor and the carriers who transport goods from one place to another, still more in the manufactures because a great part of its capital is always either annually or in a much shorter period, distributed among the

1. J B S. Haldane, The Maximisation of National Income, in Sankhya *The Indian Journal of Statistics*, Vol 16, parts 1 and 2, p. 2.
2. Cf. *Wealth of Nations*, p. 341.
3. Ibid., p. 343.

different workmen who are employed; and it is the most of all in agriculture because not only the farmers' labourers and servants but also his labouring cattles'[1] are productive labour and also nature labours along with man. Instead of considering the question of whether a given amount of capital employs many or few men in retail trade wholesale trade, manufactures or agriculture, Adam Smith confuses the issue by considering the question whether one retailer, one wholesaler, one manufacturer and one agriculturist employs many or few persons including labouring cattles and also nature? But what he adds subsequently is so significant yet so easily forgotten particularly at the time of laying down the priorities of economic planning in an underdeveloped country. He observes : 'The capital of all the individuals of a nation, has its limits in the same manner as that of a single individual and is capable of executing only certain purposes. The capital of all the individuals of a nation is increased in the same manner as that of a single individual, by their continually accumulating and adding to it whatever they save out of their income. It is likely to increase the fastest, therefore, when it is employed in the way that affords the greatest revenue of all the inhabitants of the country, as they will thus be enabled to make the greatest savings'.[2]

It is easily forgotten that the investment in the quick yielding projects leading to greater surplus for further investment is better than investment in the projects having long gestation period demanding an uncalled for sacrifice in the present.

So far we confined ourselves to the problems of growth of a closed economy. But the growth of an economy can also be due to its entering into international trade. Adam Smith has suggested distinct advantages from international trade. First, international trade provides a market for the surplus of domestic products above domestic requirements. And secondly, by extending the area of market, facilitates the division of labour and gives rise to increased productivity of labour. He says : 'Between whatever places foreign trade

1. Cf. Ibid., pp. 344-46
2. Ibid., p. 347.

is carried on, they all of them derive two distinct benefits from it. It carries out that surplus part of the produce of their land and labour for which there is no demand among them, and brings back in return for it something else for which there is a demand. It gives a value to their superfluities, by exchanging them for something else, which may satisfy a part of their wants, and increase their enjoyments. By means of it, the narrowness of the home market does not hinder the division of labour in any particular branch of art or manufacture from being carried to the highest perfection By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society'.[1] The first advantage leads to what may be called 'vent-for-surplus' theory of international trade; whereas the second gives rise to the 'productivity' theory. It must be noted that the vent-for-surplus theory assures the existence of some sort of surplus capacity over home requirements in an economy before it enters into international trade. This surplus capacity is utilized only because of international trade in the absence of which it would have remained unutilised. It does not mean the reallocation of domestic resources for the production of commodities domestically demanded and exported to foreign countries. In addition, it also assumes the inelastic internal demand for the exportable commodities and for a considerable degree of specific nature of domestic resources. It is obvious that the development of raw materials, which, by and large form, the exported commodities of the under-developed countries, would have become impossible without a market for them in the foreign countries if only because the home demand for them was for a long time strictly limited The export of these commodities also did not lead to any reallocation of resources for the production of the commodities domestically consumed and exported The productivity aspect gives a dynamic role to international trade in that by extending the area of market it creates further scope for division of labour and increased skill, dexterity and judgement

1. Ibid., p. 415.

of labourers and increased scope for innovations. It further means that after entering into international trade and shaping the extra productive capacity to the export market it is not possible to easily change the composition of production in case the foreign markets show great ups and downs or for that matter, slackeing over a period of time. This implies that it is very vulnerable to the changes in terms of trade. It is interesting that the recent discoveries in regard to the fluctuation in the prices of the exported commodities from the underdeveloped countries can be traced to Adam Smith's ideas on the theory of international trade.

And finally about the gains from international trade between the two countries again though he had not developed his ideas into a theory, he was convinced that it is the developed countries that will gain more from international trade than the underdeveloped countries. 'When a rich man and a poor man deal with one another, both of them will increase their riches, if things deal prudently, but the rich man's stock will increase, in a greater proportion than the poor man's'. In like manner when a rich and a poor nation engage in trade, the rich nation will have the greatest advantage...'[1]

However, on this account he did not advocate the idea of a policy by the rich nations to try to keep the poor ones poor; because he knew that 'a rich nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade, is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbours are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations. A great nation surrounded on all sides by wandering savages and poor barbarians might, no doubt, acquire riches by the cultivation of its own lands, and by its own interior commerce, but not by foreign trade'.[2] It is interesting to see that the main case for the foreign assistance by the developed to the underdeveloped countries is still based on this proposition.

Although Adam Smith has not discussed in detail the role of foreign capital in international economic relations, yet on the whole he seems to be in favour of the use of foreign

1. Adam Smith, *Lectures*, p. 205.
2. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 462.

capital in case the home capital is not sufficient to carry agriculture, manufacture and foreign trade. He says : 'In e\ period, indeed, of every society, the surplus part t of the rude and manufactured produce, or that for wl there is no demand at home, must be sent in order to exchanged for something for which there is some deman home. But whether the capital, which carries this sur produce abroad, be a foreign or a domestic one, is of \ little importance. If the society has not acquired suffic capital both to cultivate all its lands, and to manufac in the completest manner the whole of its rude prod there is even a considerable advantage that rude prod should be exported by foreign capital in order that the wl stock of the society may be employed in more useful purpc The wealth of ancient Egypt, that of China and Indos sufficiently demonstrate that a nation may attain a very l degree of opulence, though the greater part of its exporta trade be carried on by foreigners. The progress of North American and West Indian colonies would have t much less rapid, had not capital but what belonged themselves been employed in exporting their surplus produc

Even though the planning in most of the underdevelo countries is done with a view to achieving self-reliance, 1 is to say, making the country free from foreign assista as soon as possible; yet no one so far has denied the imp ance of foreign capital in bringing about the economic d lopment of underdeveloped countries in the early stages economic development.

Finally we propose to consider Adam Smith's ideas the role of state in bringing about economic developm The whole of Book IV of the *Wealth of Nations* has b devoted to criticising the Mercantilist and the Physiocr doctrines which preferred manufaoture and agriculture pectively. Adam Smith did not favour the system eit of preference or of restraint in the working of the nat cousre of things. He favoured the system of natural lib in which everyman, as long as he does not violate the l

1. Ibid, pp. 359-60

of justice, is free to pursue his own interests which will ultimately be in the best interest of society. The sovereign is completely discharged from a duty, in the attempting to perform which he must always be exposed to innumerable delusions, and for the proper performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient; the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it towards the employment most suitable to the interest of the society.'[1]

In this system of natural liberty the state has only three duties of great importance, but 'plain and intelligible to common understanding to persons: 'first, the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies; secondly, the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other number of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and, thirdly, the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions, which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals to erect and maintain; because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or a small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society'.[2]

This is as we should expect, the result of Adam Smith's faith in natural order or 'invisible hand.' In the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* we find a doctrine of harmonious order of Nature working under some sort of a divine guidance in which the pursuit of self-interests within some sort of natural justice leads to the best interest of society.[3] It must be noted that

1. Ibid, p. 651.
2. Ibid, p. 651.
3. Cf. *The theory of Moral Sentiments* pp. 263-65. Adam Smith says that "by persuing their self-interests they are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life which would have been made had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants; and thus without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of the society, and afford means to the multiplication of the species' pp. 264-65.

Adam Smith did not trust so much in the human faculty of reasoning and wisdom as the natural instincts and natural feelings in bringing about a natural order. Reason played a very subordinate role in it. It was not an ideal state which is to be achieved by a rational plan of reform; on the other hand it was the theory of an existing order of events. The natural propensity to truck and barter rather than the foresight of the advantages to be gained led to the division of labour. It was the natural tendency of self-interest rather than any rational plan that assures the development of an economy. The wise statesman therefore should have to cooperate with nature i.e., to let natural tendencies of self-interest work with only minimum regulations of the institutions which should facilitate the working of these institutions.[1] Taylor remarks that Adam Smith's 'enquiry was in the main quite objective and scientific in spirit, but it is true that it was directed to the end of making out a case for the programme of public policy which he believed to be 'recommended by Nature'. This programme he described, in negative terms, as an abolition of all systems either of preference or of restraints', which would enable 'the simple and obvious system of natural liberty' to 'establish itself of its own accord'.[2]

There are some competent economists who have recently challenged this view and have suggested that in Adam Smith's framework particularly of the *Wealth of Nations* there is considerably greater scope of state interference than apparently seems from Adam Smith's statements of the duties of the state. William D. Grampp, for instance, suggests that 'in his final and most mature work, the *Wealth of Nations,* he abandoned the doctrine of natural law in favour of explaining behaviour as the issue of quite secular motives;[3] He goes on to add that 'The natural order which is the achievement of economic man is a system which on examination turns out to be identical with the concept of perfect competition in modern pricetheory...The

1. Ibid, Part VI, Section 2 especially chapter 2 and Part VII Section 2 chapter 3.

2. O.H Taylor, Economics and the Idea of Jus Naturale, *Quarterl Journal of Economics*, VOL. XLIV, p. 232.

3 William D Grampp, Adam Smith and the Economic Man, *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LVI. pp. 316-17.

famous invisible hand of the *Wealth of Nations* is nothing more than the automatic equilibrium of a competitive market'.[1] If this be so then the faith in the divine control in bringing about harmony between personal and social interests falls down; and there is greater scope of the control by the state. This is why, the arguments runs, the justice in the *Wealth of Nations*, is no longer a special function of the benevolent deities but of the state.

It is however, unlikely that a man of so "stable integrated character" as Adam Smith who was not subject to 'deep intellectual doubts or fissures would write two books over the same period and give different interpretation to the concept of invisible hand and natural order in both of them. Between 1759 and 1784 there appeared five editions of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments.* None of these, not even the sixth and definitive edition of 1790, although it shows considerable changes in the text gives not the slightest hint of any change in the meaning of the doctrine of natural order. As Dr. Zakir Husain aptly pointed out 'an interpretation that can reconcile the views expressed in the *Wealth of Nations* with those in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* is more likely to be nearer the intention of the writer (Adam Smith) than one which does not do so'.[2] It, therefore, appears that the idea of natural order of *Wealth of Nations* is simply an economic version of the philosopical ideas in the *Theory af Moral Sentimemts.* The invisible hands passages are indeed identical in logic in both the works,[3] although in the *Wealth of Nations*, because of its being the motive force in bringing about economic development in a nation, it refers to the problem of capital accumulation and its directions.[4] The sovereign power in its duty of carrying out justice can be considered as some sort of representative of the deity.

Viner gives a number of examples in which the pursuit of

1. Ibid., pp. 333-334.
2. Cf. his letter to the auther dated September 19, 1963,
3. Cf. *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pp. 264,65 *and Wealth of Nations*, p. 326.
4. Cf. A. L. Macfie Adam Smith's Moral Sentiments as Foundation for his Wealth of Nations, *Oxford Economic Papers*, (New Series Vol. II.)

self interest leads to conflict of interests between various classes and individuals even when the doctrine of the natural order in economic events is allowed to function properly.[1] Then he proceeds to add: 'Smith had himself undermined what is ordinarily regarded as his principal argument for laissez-faire by demonstrating that the natural order when left to take its own course is, in many respects, working against instead of for general welfare'.[2] But the fact that Adam Smith considered these cases as exceptions to the rule rather than the rule shows that he did not give them much importance. There is a strong presumption that Smith was against governmental control beyond its fundamental duties of protectian against foreign foes, maintenance of justice, building a few public works and removal of institutional difficulties in the way of progress. He was very much sceptical about the state directing the economic activities of a nation. He said: 'It is the highest impertinence and presumption, therefore, in kings and ministers, to pretend to watch over the economy of private people and to restrain their expense, either by sumptuous laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themselves always, and without any exception, the greatest spendthrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expense, and they may safely trust private people with theirs. If their own extravagance does not ruin the state, that of their subjects never will.'[3]

However, if by any chance, there were a good government than Adam Smith was willing to concede greater activities for it. He adds: 'The orderly, vigilant, and parsimonious administration of such aristocracies as those of Venice and Amsterdam, is extremely proper, it appears from experience, for the management of a mercantile project of this kind. But whether such a government as that of England; which, whatever may be its virtues, has never been famous for good economy; which, in time of peace, has generally conducted itself with the slothful and negligent profusion that is perhaps natural to monarchies;

1. Jacob Viner Adam Smith and Laissez-faire, *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XXV pp. 214-15.

2. Ibid., p. 216.

3. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 329.

ınd in time of war has constantly acted with all the thoughtless ·xtravagance that democracies are apt to fall into; could be afely trusted with the management of such a project, must at east be a good deal more doubtful.

It shows that he disapproves government participation in ›usiness because he considers government a poor trader and ›oor manager. But if a government had good and efficient ıdministrations then Adam Smith would have had no objection o their participating in economic activities of the country. The government of underdeveloped countries are generely short ›f personal to look after management and organisation of in-lustrial and business enterprises. Therefore Adam Smith would ıot have advised their taking over a large number of economic ctivities. Even our late Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru vho had a strong faith in socialism said: 'I think it is dangerous nerely to nationalize something without being prepared to vork it properly. To nationalize we have to select things. My dea of Socialism is that every individual in the State should ıave equal opportunity for progress. I do not at all prefer State controlling everything, because I attach a great value to ndividual freedom. I do not want State Socialism of the xtreme kind in which the State is all powerful and governs ›ractically all activities. The State is very powerful politically. f you are going to make it very powerful economically also, it vould become a mere conglomeration of authority'.[1]

1. AICC Economic Review, Vol. X, No. 2, 15, May 1958, p. 4.

INTRODUCTION

There are quite a large number of traditions narrati the life of Muhammad with imprecise or contradicto chronology. The days of the week do not conform to t dates, and the months to the seasons of the year. About tw thirds of the entire *Sira* traditions suffer from the confusio These contradictions have been preserved by our historia with full integrity, without any attempt to reconcile thei Frequently the same historian, while relating a particul event, gives two or more varying dates reaching him fro different sources. He does not care to pause for a mome to think what a bad effect it would have upon the reade Some extremists among them may even regard the entire set *Sira* traditions a fabrication on account of conflicting chron logy.

Mr. Ishaqunnabi Alavi, the author of the present artic has tried to rediscover that truth in his double calendar theor In a nutshell, this theory is as follows :

There were two different current calendars in pre-Islam Mecca and Medina. The Meccan calendar was a luni-sol calendar, while the Medinian was a purely lunar one with common names for the months of the year. Tl emigrants from Mecca carried with them their calendar, ar incidently used two calendars at the same time, until tl Prophet abrogated the Meccan one towards the end of his lif As a result, some people, mostly his Meccan Companion

recorded the events about the life of the Prophet according to the Meccan dates, while some others, mostly Medinians, recorded according to their own Medinian dates.

The early *Sira* writers inherited traditions based on both these records simultaneously, and they passed on their information *verbatim* to us.

Today, when we have lost the Meccan calendar, its rediscovery will be of immense value to us, and will prove to be a key to the solution of the problems of contradictions in the *Sira* literature.

The present article is a successful attempt towards reconstructing the lost Arab calendar.

ABID RAZA BEDAR

CHRONOLOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SIRA LITERATURE

ISHAQUNNABI ALAVI

The *Sira* literature, which deals with the campaigns and the military expeditions (*Ghazwa* and *Sarya*,) of the Prophet, gives the accounts in such great details that they resemble almost an eye-witness account. For example, the causes of each *Ghazwa* or *Sarya*, the meeting place of the two armies, its distance and direction from Medina or some other focal point, name of the troop-leader or the commander of the Muslim army, or the banner-holder; the colour of the banner; the attitude of the Muslim army ; number of the participants, and the names of the outstanding ones among them—with details of the number of the men of the Aws and Khazraj tribes separately ; names of the allies and friends; strength of the Muslim and the enemy cavalries; names of the horses; names of the injured and the killed; even the weapons used; the dialogues that ensued among themselves as well as between the two rivals ; the total strength of the enemy's force; names of the war-captives; details of the booty; and even fixation of the month, date and day of the battle (or if the date and the day is not available, mention of the month at any rate); all these details could have hardly been described with such accuracy and detail unless one had recorded them on the spot. The fixation of the day and the date would not have been possible without a proper record. So, one may conclude that if the narrations are correct, and the details therein not mere stories and legends, then the narrators must have had access to certain documents contemporaneous to the days of the Prophet and to the period of the compaigns and the expeditions. But the difficulty arises when a considerable portion of *Sira* traditions does not withstand the scientific and the critical analysis. This is particularly the case with the chronological part of the traditions. Again upon this very portion depends the orderly arrangement of the event ; it can also serve as an important

basis for judging the nature and the veracity or falsehood of the narrators and of the *Sira*-compilers. This is because, it is the only part of the traditions which is mathematically attestable on a positive and precise ground.

The *Sira* literature provides numerous examples of events that are dated, and the dates are given in a positive manner by the authors without any hesitation or suspicion. They were based on some documentary evidence. But, when put to mathemetical test they produce different results, which would lead to the conclusion that there was little authentic in the early history of Islam and that it was more occupied with the propagation of the faith rather than with the presentation of facts. This conclusion is drawn in view of the fact that in the chronological description of almost all the important events, there are apparent contradictions and variations on such a vast scale that these narations can hardly be regarded as history. Neither the days tally with the dates, nor the months coincide with the seasons and one is simply left with the only conclusion that most probably all the details were simple fabrications or pious intellectual excercise on the part of the early preachers of Islam who were too innocent to visualize that their versions might be scientifically examined at some later stage of history.

The historical contradictions may be divided into five major categories :

I. Dates varying with the conventional Days.

II. Dates not coinciding with the Seasons.

III. Dates contradicted by other sources.

IV. Different and contradictory Dates for a single event with none having a strong basis to be preferred over the other.

V. Differences among the historians with regard to the chronology of events.

On the other hand, there are examples of dates proved to be authentic and correct in their entirely, but these are not

many. Nevertheless they are in sufficient numbers to assure that the early Sira writers had some basic source material at their disposal, or else, these dates would have been as incorrect as the others in question. And this makes the issue all the more complex.

1. Let us now examine the first calegory of contradications: *Dates not coinciding with days*:

i) Ibn Ishaq, relating the story of the Prophet's *Hijra*, gives the date of his arrival at QABA as Monday, the 12th of Rabi I of the fiirst Hijra Year. There is consensus on this date, and all the historians including the European orientalists have agreed upon it. But when this date is examined one finds that the date of even such an important event of Islamic history as the *Hijra* seems to have a fabricated year. The Calendar gives the 12th of Rabi I of that year a Friday instead of a Monday. This contradiction was first pointed out by al-Biruni who by scientific calculations proved that the narration was incorrect, and that the date of the Prophet's *Hijra* was not the 12th but the 8th of Rabi I, since Monday falls on the 8th. As it was based on pure mathematical calculations, most of the Islamologist agreed with it, and even some of the Muslim scholars like Shibli followed it, thus refuting the very narration by inference.

ii) Several expeditions were organized against the Quraysh so as to put restrictions on their trade and commerce. One of the encounters in this connection was that of the Ghazwat Yanba for which the expedition was sent on Thursday, the 2nd of Shaban A.H.2, but according to calculations, there is little possibility of a Thursday occurring on Shaban 2. Actually, it was a Sunday.

iii) In the same year, keeping the political and commercial interests in view, agreements were concluded with several coastal tribes of Hijaz. Regarding the agreements with Banu Astam and Ghifar, the date narrated is Tuesday the 14th Shaban, A.H.2. According to the Calendar however, 14th Shaban was a Friday.

iv) The above events are of far less significance in the early

history of Islam as compared to the event of Badr. Not only Waqidi and Ibn Ishaq but practically all the *Sira* writers agree that it took place on Friday, the 17th of the Ramadan, A.H.2. However, when examined calendarically, the day falling on the 17th of Ramadan is Tuesday and not a Friday.

v) Another important event of the same year is the battle of Banu Qanuqa, a successful fight waged againt the Jews, which took place shortly after Badr. According to the historians it took place on Saturday, the 15th of Shawwal A H.2. But according to the Calendar, 15th Shawwal of the year was a Tuesday and not a Saturday.

vi) To avenge the losses at Badr Abu Sufyan, the chief of the Quraysh, organised a night attack in the month of Dhu l-Hajj of the same year, namely, A.H.2, and the Qurayshite forces entered the suburbs of Medina. In histories, this event is dated Sunday, the 5th of Dhul Hijja, A.H 2. So much about the 1st and the 2nd years of the *Hijra*.

vii) Now the most authentic and unanimous date of the most important event of the 3rd year of the *Hijra*, namely, the Uhud catastrophe, is Saturday, the 11th of Shawwal. The calculations of Calendar, however, prove that 11th Shawwal was not a Saturday but a Tuesday.

viii) The next important event took place in the following year, namely, A.H.4. This was the battle of *Banu Nuzair*, dated Tuesday, 12th Rabi I. The Calendar again is at variance, and 12th of Rabi actually falls on a Tuesday.

ix) The most important event of the sixth year of *Hijra* which proved to be of great significance in the Islamic history, is the assassination of Khusrau Parviz, the Emperor of Iran. The date of the event is given as Tuesday, the 10th of Jumada I, A.H.7. The year (7 instead of 6) is perhaps a slip of pen or a mistake of the copyist, but the date neither fits in the 6th nor in the 7th year of the *Hijra* as the Calendar gives 10th Jumada I of the 7th year as Thursday, and that of the 6th year as Sunday.

x) It is narrated that Muslim armies started for the

conquest of Mecca on Thursday the 10th of Ramadan, A H.8. The date of the conquest is given as Friday the 20th of Ramadan. But calculations show that there is no possibility of a Thursday occurring on the 10th and a Friday on the 20th of Ramadan. Actually, it comes to Monday occurring on the 10th, and Thursday, on the 20th.

(xi) Likewise, the date of Muslim forces leaving Mecca for the Hunayn encounter is given as Saturday, the 6th of Shawwal, A.H.8, but the correct day is Thursday.

It is apparent from the above-mentioned examples that either all the factual details are spurious and were fabricated to give weight to the *Sira* traditions and historical prestige to the hearsays that were current in the 2nd and 3rd *Hijra* or else our present calculations are faulty and the traditional calendar is not yet clear to us.

The later possibility, however, loses its force because some other dates put to the same test, prove to be quite accurate, coherent and satisfatory, and hence it is difficult to say that in the prevalent calculating method there is something fundamentally wrong. These very 'fundamentally wrong calculating methods' when applied to the following dates produce accurate results and without any contradictions whatsoever.

(i) The battle of Talab Kurz b. Jabir Fahri, dated Monday the 12th of Jumada II A.H.2 (Ibn Habib, 111).

(ii) The expedition of Abdullah b. Anas, dated Monday the 5th of Muharram, A.H.4 (Waqidi/331; Ibn Sad 2/31: Dayar Bakri 1/450).

(iii) The starting day of the battle of Khandaq is Thursday, the 10th of Shawwal, A.H.5 (Ibn Habib).

(iv) The truce of Hudaybiya : The Prophet left Mecca on Monday, the first of Dhu l-Qa da A.H. 6 (Ibn Sad 2/65; Qastalan 1/163).

(v) The well-known event of 7 A.H., namely, Umrat a Qada is dated Monday, the 6th of the Dhul-Qada (Ibn Habib/115).

(vi) The date of the passing away of the Prophet is 12th Rabi I (Ibn Sa d 1/37; Kulayni : Abwab al-Tarikh).

II *Dates at variance with the Seasons* : Evidence proves that the battle of Badr took place when the summer was at its height (Ibn Sad 2/15; *Muslim* 2/92). The Quran also supports this evidence when it says that it was so hot that the Muslims were compelled to pray for rains and the wish was eventually granted (8.11). From the manner in which the Quran has described this unexpected rain it seems that it was not a winter shower, but a miracle performed to lessen the severity of the heat.

The Badr is however dated Ramadan A.H.2 corresponding to Feb./Mar. 623 A.D., and these are not the hot months in Hijaz.

(ii) Just after the Badr, in Shawwal of that year, Abu Afk, the Jew, was killed by a Muslim. Traditions have that it was so hot that the Jew was sleeping in the open courtyard (Waqidi/175; Ibn Sad/2/19). In Medina, the months of March/April (which correspond to the month of Shawwal), are not, however, so hot as to oblige people to sleep under the open sky.

(iii) The battle of Uhud is said to have take place in the month of Shawwal A.H.3, when fresh and first-of-the season dates were in plenty (Muir/267; Waqidi/321). In Medina, the date-season, however, does not begin before mid-July; only certain special varieties ripe earlier and these too not before late June, while the Shawwal under question corresponds to March/April A.D. 624.

(iv) The expendition of Dhat Salasil is dated Jumada II, A.H. 8. The evidence of the traditions shows that it was a severe winter. (Tabari 3/104; Ibn Hisham 4/272; Mustadrak 1/177 al-Bidaya wal-Nihaya 4/274). Jumada II, however, corresponds to Sep./Oct., which is a spring season in Hijaz. Historians have also related that the battle of Mawta was fought in a severe hot summer (Tabari 3/110) which, incidentally, took place just one month before the event under review, *i.e*, in the month of Jumada I.

(v) The conquest of Mecca is dated Ramadan, A.H. 8 which corresponds to Dec./January. Abu Hurayra relates that it was so hot that the Prophet, in his fast, threw water over his head. (Mustadrak 1/132; Muwatta).

(vi) The battle of Hunayn taking place on 6th Shawwal is described to have occurred in the full bloom of the Summer (Ibn Sad 11/112) and within a fortnight after the fall of Mecca. But 6th Shawwal corresponds to January 27, A.D. 630.

(vii) The expedition of Alqama b. Mujaz, took place 6 months after the fall of Mecca, in Rabi II, A.H. 9. The details regarding the expedition show that it was quite cold, that the soldiers had prepared a camp fire to cook as well as to warm themselves. As the traditions declare that Mecca and Hunayn occurred in summer, this expedition should automatically have occurred during winter. Rabi II corresponds to July A.D. 630, the period of hot summer.

(viii) The battle of Tabuk is described to have taken place in Rajab A.H. 9. This Quranic evidence proves that it was a severe summer, the hypocrites advising the Muslims not to leave for war (*la tanfiru fil-harri*) and receiving a repartee that the heat of the hell is the most severe one (*qul naru jahannama ashaddu harran*). According to the present Calendar, however, Rajab of A.H. 9 corresponds to Oct-/Nov., A.D. 630.

As against these contradictions there is a set of events where no such descrepancy arises and seasons agree completely with the months. The examples of such event are as follows:

The murder of Kab b. Ashraf is dated 14th Rabi I, A.H.3 (Traditions prove that it was a fine spring night) which corresponds to 6th Sep. A.H. 624).

The battle of the Ditch is dated Shawwal A.H. 5 and is described to have taken place in a rainy and stormy winter (Ibn Hisham 3/242; Tabari 3/51-52). It corresponds to Feb/ Mar. A.H. 626.

The battle of Mawtah said to have taken place in summer

(Tabari 3/110) is dated Jumada I, A.H.8. It corresponds to August/Sept. A.D. 629.

III. *Events having contemporary records.*

A third set of events could be verified either by recorded contemporary evidence or by astronomical calculations. Of this set of events, three seem to be at variance while two are verified.

(i) The traditions of the Ashura fast relate that after his arrival at Medina the Prophet one day saw the Jews celebrating the Ashura fast. Thereupon he himself took to fasting on that day and also enjoined upon the Believers to follow. (This *Sunna* is still followed widely and the 10th of Muharram is held throughout the Muslim world as a sacred day for fasting.)

Now, this fasting day fell on the 10th of the Jewish month of Tishri. Thus in that year, the first *Hijra* year, the Arab Muharram and the Hebrew Tishri should have coincided and the 10th of both the months should have fallen on the same day. Calendars however do not verify the case, and al-Biruni has his own doubts as to the genuineness of the Ashura traditions. He has criticised it and has declared the entire set of the Ashura traditions as baseless and fabricated.[1]

1. "People relate that the Prophet of God on arriving in Medina saw the Jews fasting on Ashura. On inquiring of them, he was told that this was the day on which God had drowned the Pharao and his people and had saved Moses and the Israelites. Then the Prophet said : "We have a nearer claim to Moses than they have." In consequence, he fasted on the day and ordered his followers to do the same. But later when he issued the law regarding the fasting during Ramadan he no longer ordered them to fast on Ashura, but he did not forbid them either.

This tradition, however, is not correct, since scientific examination goes against it, for the first of Muharram of the year of the *Hijra* was a Friday, the 16th Tammuz, A. Alexandri 938. But if we compute the Jewish New-Year's Day for the same year, it was a Sunday, the 12th of Elul, corresponding to the 29th of Safar. Therefore, the fasting Ashura fell on Tuesday, 9th of Rabi I , and the flight of the Prophet occurred in the first half of Rabi I." (Sachau : *The Chronology of the ancient Nations, 327*).

(ii) The same is the case with the assassination of the Iranian Emperor Khusraw Parwez which took place in Feb. A.D. 628, an event well-recorded in European histories (Gibbon 111/315). In the Islamic record, the date 10th Jumada I, corresponds to Sept. A.D. 627/628. Dr. Hamidullah has, therefore, declared the relevant Islamic traditions about the event as spurious (*Maarif*, 1944).

(iii) The death of Ibrahim, the son of the Prophet, is said to have taken place in Rabi I or Rabi II, A.H. 10. Traditions have recorded that a sun-eclipse took place on that day (Ibn sad 1/19; Dayar Bakri/146; Margoliouth : *Rise*:*x*). It is an established fact that the eclipse took place on 27th January, A.D. 632. (Muir/430) which corresponds to 29th Shawwal A.H. 10, and not Rabi I or Rabi II.

As against the above three variances there are other examples of correct recordings belonging to the same set:

(i) The moon-eclipse tradition for the year A.H. 5, taking place in the month of Jumada II, is absolutely correct, since the eclipse took place on Nov. 9 A.D. 626, which corresponds to the 14th Jumada II, A.H.5.

(ii) The same is the case with the mission sent by the Prophet to the courts of the Iranian and the Byzantine empires in Dhul-Hijja A.H.6, (Ap./May A.D. 628). The record of the mission sent to the Byzantine court is preserved in contemporary Greek records, and the two records tally with each other (Margolioth : *Rise*/365). It has been dated there as April/A.D. 628, and the month of Dhul-Hijja of the year A.H.6 began on the 12th April 628.

IV. *Fourth kind of contradictions* : Two different months given for the same event:

The battle of Kurz b. Jabir Fahri is dated Jumada II by one (Ibn Ishaq, cf. Ibn Hisham 2/4) and Rabi I by other (waqidi/3). Same is the case with the Ghazwas of Banu Sulaym (Shawwal A.H. 2 by Tabari II/298, Ibn Habib-/111 and Ibn Khaldun 11/21; and Muharram 3 A.H. by Waqidi/183 and Ibn Sad 11/21.) Maqdisi/197; Masudi/*al-Tanbih*/243)

and of Dhu Amr (dated Dhul Hijja 2 A.H. by Ibn Ishaq, cf. Ibn Hisham 111/48-49; Tabari 2/299): Rabi I of 3 A.H, by Waqidi/192, Ibn Sad 11/23, Maqdisi 4/197); the expedition of Zayd b. Haritha (dated Rabi I, 3 A.H., by Ibn Ishaq, cf. *al-Bidaya* 4/4 and Jumada I, 3 A.H. by Waqidi/195, Ibn Sad 11/24, Maqdisi 4/198); the battle of Badr-i Muwaad (dated Shaban 4 A.H. by Ibn Ishaq, cf. Ibn Hisham 111/220, Tabari 111/41, Ibn Sayyid al-Nas/53 and Dhul-Qada 4 A.H. by Waqidi); the battle of Dhat al-Riqa (dated Jumada 4 A.H. by Ibn Ishaq, cf. Ibn Hisham 111/244, Ibn Sayyid al-Nas 11/52 and Muharram 5 A.H. by Waqidi/4, Ibn Sad/2, a major difference, a gap of about 8 months and the Ghazwa of Khaybar (dated Muharram 7 A.H. by Ibn Ishaq, cf. Ibn Hisham IV and Jumada I of A.H. 7.

The change of the Qibla is generally held to have occurred in Shaban A.H. 2 (Tabari 11/265, Waqidi IV/184, Ibn Jawzi/20). But there is tradition narrated by Imam Zuhri which dates it in Jumada, 2 A.H. 2.

Another striking example is of Uhud. Waqidi, Ibn Ishaq, and practically all the important historians of Islam agree to date it in Shawwal A.H. 3. But, then, Waqidi, while dating it in Shawwal, also adds another tradition by Abd al-Hamid b. Jafar who related it from his father, according to which the event took place in Muharram and not in Shawwal (Waqidi/317-18).

V. A fifth set of contradictions is with regard to the chronology of events, a natural corollary of the preceding four. For instance. which one of the following two Ghazwas was earlier : that of Abwa (Waqidi/3; Ibn Hisham II/290) or Dhat al-Ashira (Bukhari : *Kitab al-Maghazi*; Waqidi/4) ?

An important example of this kind is that of the battle of Tabuk and the Pilgrimage of Abu Bakr, both occurring in A. H. 9. There is general concensus that the battle took place in Rajab, and the Pilgrimage in Dhu l-Hijja of the same year. But 'Urwah b. 'Akrama, a reliable source on the *Sira*, says that after his pilgrimage when Abu Bakr reached Medina, the Prophet left for Tabuk.

All these obvious contradictions could lead only to one conclusion : that the original calendar, according to which the events were dated, is lost; that perhaps there were two different types of chronologies working side by side in the Prophet's Medina, a fact which was not given due attention by the coming generations; and that the only solution lies in discovering the lost truth. And in this regard I am in total disagreement with Margoliouth in whose view "it is not however possible to make up enough of pre-Islamic calendar to subtitute a detailed scheme for Wustenfeld".[1]

II

Apparatus to reconstruct the lost Calendar

The attempts, previous to the present one, to reconstruct the early Islamic calendar were following a totally wrong direction and consequently leading to wrong results.[2] The only exception

1. Margoliouth : *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam :* xix

2. Perceval is one (whom Muir follows in his "*Life of Muhammad*"). He is found erring when his two major dates, those of the *Hijra* of the Prophet and the battle of the Badr, are put to the test, the *Hijra* taking place in the month of May (besides the already recorded tradition that 'Ali slept instead of the Prophet in his bed covering himself with a sheet, obviously an evidence of winter) and Badr taking place in January (while it is quite proved that it was a hot summer). We can add to these the dates for Uhud, the sun-eclipse, and the assassination of Abu Afk. (The sun-eclipse, for example is dated June-July. A. D. 631 by Muir, while it actually occurred on January 28, A. D. 632). According to Perceval, the Meccan calendar was luni-solar. For Mahmud Falaki, the Meccan calendar was a purely lunar calendar, and hence he leaves little scope for discussion. He was the main source for Shibli. Wellhausen made an attempt to correlate "partly", by adding two and a half months to the conventional dates so as to bring seasonal evidence to a correct posture. But this was a mere patchwork. More recently, Hashim Amir Ali tried to prove that the Meccan calendar was a pure solar one. taking the other extreme position to that of Mahmud Falaki.

is Winckler, who seems to be the most original thinker on the subject. Unfortunately, I do not have before me the details of his theory, and yet what he is reputed to have believed, in essence, is marvellous. I may say on the evidence of Margoliouth, that Winckler (as also Nelson) believed that the Meccan and the Medinian calendars were totally different with common names for their months of the year.[1] But, surprisingly enough, Margoliouth comments, "His (Winckler's) investigations into the origin of the Arabic calendar, which has been amplified by D. Neeson, are of no practical importance for fixing the dates of events during the early years of Hijra" (*Rise* : xx).

The idea of double-calendar, as contained in Winckler's theory, is remarkable and I must gratefully acknowledge that this idea led me to work out my own theory.[2]

In this connection I would also like to mention Dr. Hamidullah's name, who, in a valuable article on the Arab-Iranian relations, has also presented the double-calendar idea, perhaps under the inspiration of Winckler himself, but since it occurred to him only casually, the idea could not be worked out in detail and, instead, resulted in producing almost totally opposite conclusions. To him, the two chronologies, working side by side, became one at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage, which is totally wrong.

On the whole, it seems that he has tried to put the present *Hijra* calendar beside the theory adopted by Muir.

1. It has been pointed out by Winckler that the Calendar of Medina may well have been different from that of Mecca, the same month having quite different values at two cities. (Margoliouth : *Rise* xx).

2. Margoliouth has not given any details and his outright rejection however, means that the theory was not generally accepted perhaps it was based on some complex calculations. Quite late in Islamic history, after the lunar calendar was adopted as the religiously recognised one, it was worked out that the early solar dates were given their lunar versions.

Perceval's table :

Gregorian/English months	Arabian months
April	Muharram
May	Safar
June	Rabi 'I
July	Rabi 'II
August	Jumada I
September	Jumada II
October	Rajab
November	Sha'ban
December	Ramadan
January	Shawwal
February	Dhu' l-Qa 'd
March	Dhu' l-Hijja

Pagan Arab Ideas:

This much is certain that there was no central cale common to all in pre-Islamic Arabia. Those regions v had their independent calendars, changed them freque (al-Biruni : Athar/74-75; 141; Ibn Habib/6, 7; Tabari I I I/198).

According to Masudi, Mecca and Medina had two diff calendars; and the two cities also differed in counting the ber of the days. (*al-Tanbih*/206).

Now, there are various theories about the procedu making the lunar year conform to seasons.

To make the lunar year correspond to the crop year, month after every third year may be added (but then it make a full one month's difference in thirty years). Mu of the opinion that the Meccans had this system in v (Muir/112), which is an idea without any basis.

Another procedure is to add three months in every years (whereafter there still remains a difference of one ar half day). Al-Biruni believes that the Meccans prac this principle and that they had taken it from the Jews. (A

Hamidullah's Table

6 A.H.	Medinian	Muharram	Safar	Rabi' I	Rabi' II	Jumada I	Jumada II	Rajab	Shaban	Ramadan	Shawwal	Dhul-Qada	Dhul-Hijja
	Meccan	Rabi'I	Rabi' II	Jum. I	Jum. II	Rajab	Shaban	Ramad.	Shawwal	D. Q.	D. H.	.	Muharram
7 A.H.	Medinian	Muharram	Safar	Rabi' I	Rabi' II	Jumada I	Jumada II	Rajab	Shaban	Ramadan	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.
	Meccan	Safar	R. I.	R. II	J. I.	J. II	Raj.	Shab.	Ramadan	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.	Muharram
8 A.H	Medinian	Muharram	Safar	R. I.	R. II	J. I	J. II	Rajab	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.
	Meccan	Safar	R. I.	R. II	J. I	J. II	Raj.	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.	Muharram
9 A.H.	Medinian	Muharram	Safar	R. I	R. II	J. I	J. II	Raj.	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.
	Meccan	Safar	R. I.	R. II	J. I	J. II	Raj.	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.	.
10 A.H.	Medinian	Muharram	Safar	R. I	R. II	J. I	J. II.	Raj.	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D. H.
	Meccan	Safar	R. I.	R II	J. I	R II	Raj	Shab.	Ram.	Shaww.	D. Q.	D.H.	.

12). It is however incorrect as the Jews had a system of adding seven months in 19 years.

Actually, till the year A.H. 9, the Meccans added one month as and when they needed it and thus by intercalating, they made their calendar correspond to the solar year (al-Quran, IX/36; *Tafsir-i Kabir*/434-35; Athar/12; *Qanun-i Masudi*/92). The confusion about their intercalary system rose from the misconception that the Arabs were quite an ignorant people and hence incapable of understanding the working and the complex nature of intercalation.

Apart from the fact that the pagan Arab religion was fundamentally based on the worship of the heavenly bodies,[1] there is sufficient evidence that, on the eve of the advent of Islam, the Arabs were well-versed with the astronomical sciences. In this connection we have the most reliable contemporary evidence preserved in the Quran itself [2].

In the light of the statements of Ibn Qutayba, Ibn Kinasa[3], al-Biruni, Marziqi and Qazwini, it is convincingly proved that the astronomical calculations of the pre-Islamic Arabs were surprisingly correct, and that they were well acquainted with the astronomical science which they applied to the changes of the seasons and their calendar-making.

The same evidence proves that their Rabi began with the autumnal equinox (and not vernal equinox) in contrast to the Iranians. Ibn Kinasa(*Taj al-Arus*) has also given the Syriac dates corresponding to the beginning of every season.

Keeping in view the guidance and the details supplied by al-Biruni,[4] Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Kinasa, the four seasonal points of the Arab year could be arranged as follows :

1. This was enough to interest them into the astronomical sciences and seek as much knowledge as they could of the objects of their worship and other relevant things.

2. Al-Quran : 15: 16; 25. 61; 85: 1; 36: 38; 55. 17; 81: 16; 23: 17: 37: 6; 6: 75, 5: 55, 48: 6; 6 97; 10: 5; 25 6; 36: 39.

3. *Kitab al-Anwa*/103; 104; *Kitab al-Azmina*/I 174; *Taj al-Arus*/V/340-41 *Athar al-Baqiya:* 325.

4. *Athar al-Baqiya*/325.

Rabi I	3 Aylul	3 September
Shita	3 Kanun I	3 December
Sayf (Rabi II)	5 Adhar	5 March
Qayz	4 Haziran	4 June

Now, if the same division of the year is followed up, and it is assumed that the months of the year were divided exactly on the same arrangement as al-Biruni thought then we have safely acquired one keyword towards reconstructing the lost Arab calendar.

If we spread al-Biruni's Arab crop-year arrangement, Rabi I, Shita, Sayf (Rabi II), over the year, and start from Muharram going to Dhul-Hijja, the result would be as follows. This hypothesis may prove to be of quite productive consequences, supplying to many an historical crosswords. While, dividing the Arab year over their four crops, I have also given the English/Roman months corresponding to the Syriac ones:

Autumnal equinox	11 Sep.	1—Muharram	RABI I	Aylul 3	Sep.
		2—Safar		Tashrin 1	Oct.
		3—Rabi I		Tashrin 11	Nov.
			SHITA		
Winter Equinox	21 Dec.	4—Rabi II		Kanun I 3	Dec.
		5—Jumada I		Kanun II	Jan.
		6—Jumada II		Shubat	Feb.
			SAYF		
Vernal Equinox	Mar. 21	7—Rajab		Adhar 5	Mar.
		8—Shaban		Naysan	Apr.
		9—Ramadan		Ayar	May
			QAYZ		
Summer Equinox	June 21	10—Shawwal		Haziran 4	June
		11—Dhul-Qada		Tammuz	July
		12—Dhul-Hijja		Ab	Aug.

Philological evidence

The names of the Arab months themselves are quite helpful in understanding the nature of the Arab calendar. Marzuqi (*al-Azmina*/167-168) and al-Biruni have described at length that when naming their months the Arabs were fully conscious of the seasons wherein these would be occurring. Take for example the first Arab month, Muharram. In pre-Islamic times it was called Safar, and whenever it was declared a *Haram* month. it became Muharram; otherwise, both the months of Muharram and Safar were called Safarayn *i.e.*, the two Safars. Safar fell in the beginning of winter. "Safarayn" is a name given to a grass which grows in early winter. Again, Safarayn is also the period ranging from the end of summer to the beginning of winter (*Qamus*). Also the babies born in this months were called Safarayn (Ibn Qutayba). It may thus be concluded that in the ancient times, the first month of the Arab year occured close to the autumnal equinox, and it was for this reason that the products of the month were named "Safarayn".

Next we come to the Rabi or the spring months. For the Arabs, the spring season started with the rainy season and it is already known that there rainy season occurrs in October-November. Then follow the Jumada months, which on their very surface carry the impression of winter. Marzuqi says that he could not find any reference of summer in connection with the two Jumadas and it is always a winter which is invariably connected with Jumada in Arabic poetry. Labid has also declared Jumada a winter month. Then come Rajab and Shaban followed by Ramadan which instantaneously gives the idea of intense heat.

Apart from the above philological evidence which is of greater importance than any of the historical ones, Margoliouth has it on the evidence of old Greek writers that in the pre-Islamic times the three Arab months of autumn and one of spring were declared as the *haram* months[1] According to the

Taj al—Arus, III / 337.

1. During the three autumn months and one spring month, a truce of God was observed by many tribes who, during these months, laid down their arms, of shed no blood" *Rise* / 5 Also in annotation Nonnosus and Procopius " Two months after the summer solstice and one in mid-spring (*Rise*/5)

Greek sources, two of these months occurred after the Summer Solstice and one in mid-spring.

This statement further strengthens the correctness of the above hypothetical chart: The Summer Solstice occurs on June 21; and according to the Chart, Dhul-Qada and Dhul-Hijja correspond respectively to July and August. The "mid-Spring" month of the Greek statement corresponds to Rajab according to the Chart, which has its Roman months as March and April. Wellhausen has also declared Rajab as parallel to spring and Muharram to Autumn.[1]

Offering of the firstlings :

Some traditions also support that in pre-Islamic days, the Jewish and the Arab calendars began from the same season. FAR and ATIRAH were offered for sacrifice to the gods in the month of Rajab, Far or Atirah is the first of the camel's offsprings.[2] Far was so young that its flesh could be separated from its skin with much difficulty.[3]

The calving time for the camels in Arabia, according to Doughty, is February and early March (W R. Smith *Religious of Semites* 465). Smith adds that the same is the case with the other animals as well.

This leads to the conclusion that all the first borns of February—March were offered as sacrifice in the month of Rajab, which should, as it did, occur just after this calving time.

Perhaps with this point in view, Wellhausen has compared the Hebrew festival celebrated in the month of Nisan, to the Rajab festival of the Arabs.[4] This is because the Jews also

1. *Encyclopaeda of Islam* II/.
2. *Lisan al-Arab* VI/210,
3. *Lisan al-Arab* X/120 ; *Nihaya; Gharib al--Hadith* II/195
4. W. R. Smith : 227--228.

Wellhausen indeed disposed to think that the practice of slaughtering the animals and leaving them besides the alter to be devoured by wild beasts, was not confined to certain exceptional cults alone, but prevailed generally in the case of the Atair (sing. *atira*) or annual sacrifices presented by the Arabs in the month Rajab which originally corresponded to the Hebrew Passover-month.

celebrated this festival in the days when the sun was in Aries, and they offered the first fruits of their products and one year old goats and sheep at the *altar of Jehovah.*

It may therefore be concluded that in the pre-Islamic times, the Jewish and the Arab calendars began from the same point and like Rajab, the Jewish Naysan was also the seventh month of the year and both the months were related to the beginning of the Spring.

Again, there is considerable historical evidence to prove that the first month of both the nations *i.e.* Muharram and Tishri. started with the same crop-point.

The Ashura traditions:

In support of this we have yet another source of the Prophetic Traditions, namely, the Ashura traditions, which, by their very nature, have proved to be the central point of my entire theory about the Arab calendar. Actually, they provided me with sufficient ground to formulate my present theory, and I am sure that most of all these traditions set the pattern, and become the deciding factor in re-constructing the entire Islamic Calendar.

When the Prophet reached Medina, he saw the Jews fasting on the *Ashura* Day, which was actually the 10th of their Tishri month which always fell in Sept.-October.

Ibn Abbas narrates: "When the Prophet reached Medina, he saw the Jews fasting. Thereupon he asked: What is this? He was told that on that very day God gave deliverence to the sons of Israel from their enemies, so Moses had fasted on that day. The Prophet said, "We are more deserving than you are" And then he fasted and asked others to do so" (*Bukhari*: *Musnad* Ibn Hanbal 4/2644, 2832).

In another narration Ibn Abbas says: "When the Prophet reached Medina, he found the Jews keeping the Ashura fast. When asked, they told him that God blessed Moses and the sons of Israel with victory over Pharaoh on that day; hence the fasting to celebrate the Day. Thereupon the prophet said, "we

are more rightful than you are; and he asked his people to fast on that day" (*Bukhari*).

In a third tradition narrated by Abu Musa Ashari, the narration reads: "The Prophet reached Medina and saw the Jews celebrating Ashura and fasting on that day. Thereupon he said, we are more rightful. And he asked his people to fast (*Bukhari*).

These narrations indicate that the Prophet fasted on the day when the Jews had their Ashura fast. This was the 10th of Tishri, the first month of their Calender. This leads to the conclusion that, at least, in the year when they fasted in Medina for the first time, the Arab Muharram exactly corresponded to the Jewish Tishri, which always occured during the autumnal equinox.

It is however wrong to conclude that the Prophet fasted on that day because the Jews did so. (Margoliuth: *Rise*/250). Actually, the Quraysh of Mecca also fasted on that day in pre-Islamic times. Aisha says: "The Quraysh used to fast on the Ashura day in pre-Islamic times, and the Prophet also fasted. When he came to Medina, he himself fasted and asked others to do so. Later, when the Ramadan fasting was declared binding upon the Believers, whoever chose to observe this fast did so, while others abandoned it". (*Bukhari*)

Further, just as the Jews performed the annual cleansing ceremony of their Sanctuary on that day, so did the Quraysh and they decorated and covered the Kaba afresh on the *Ashura* Day. Aisha says: "The Quraysh before the binding declaration of Ramadan, used to fast on *Ashura* and covered the Kaba afresh on that day" (*Bukhari*).

The two narrations or Aisha, when read together, mean that this ceremony was common on the entire Semitic world, or, was at any rate, shared among the Northern Arabs. If Jerusalem was cleaned on that day, the Meccan sanctuary was also covered afresh on the same day; and if the Palestinians fasted on that day, so did the Arabs.

In this connection, the commentary of Ibn Abbas on "Wa'l-

Fajr" is quite interesting and so is the explanation of Ubayd b. Umayr regarding Muharram. Ibn Abbas says: "*Wa'l-Fajr wa Layalin Ashrin* means the dawn of the year *i. e.* Muharram and its first ten nights till *Ashura*" (*Bidaya*, III/207; Tabari II/253)

Ubayd b. Umayr says: "Muharram is a *divine* month and the beginning of the year. when the sanctuary of God is covered afresh and wherefrom the people count the days of the year" (*Bidaya* II/207).

All this proves that the *Ashura* fast was not observed following the Jewish rite. The Quraysh themselves held the day as sacred.

Incidently, it also proves that it was not in vogue among the Medinians, and that they had no idea as to the sacredness of the day. This was perhaps because racially they belonged to Southern Arabia. There is tradition from a Medinian Companion, Salma b. Ikwa who gives the following narration.

"The Prophet sent a man, on the *Ashura* day to announce that whoever has eaten anything so far, let him take no more and fast for the rest of the day, and anyone who has taken nothing, let him abstain (from taking anything) now for the rest of the day" (*Bukhari*).

From yet another Medinian tradition it is evident that this announcement was restricted to the Ansar localities only. Rabi bint Muawwadh says; "The Prophet in the *Ashura* morning sent a word to the Ansar localities that whosoever has eaten anything, let him abstain for the remaining of the day; and whosoever has not taken anything, let him complete his fast" (*Bukhari*).

According to some traditions, the Prophet asking his people to fast on Ashura, recommended a slight change. Ibn Abbas says· "The Prophet said: Observe the Ashura fast, but oppose the Jews and fast one day ahead or later" *Musnad* IV/2154; (see also IV/2135, 2214, 2540).

This tradition is convincing proof of the fact that during the life of the Prophet the Arab Muharram and the Jews Tishri

coincided exactly, or at least frequently. And this is possible only, if adopting the Kabisa (intercalary system) rule we declare the beginning of the Arab Calendar from the autumnal equinox.

It is however wrong to assume that Muharram moved in the first year of *Hijra* so as to coincide with Tishri, an assumption which led al-Biruni to draw erroneous conclusions and finally declare all the genuine Ashura traditions as spurious (Sachau : *Chronology* / 327). Al-Biruni's calculations are correct according to the lunar calender, but in his zeal he overlooked the luni-solar system that was in vogue during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Double documentation : *Stepping into the double calendar theory.*

Double calendar theory presupposes double-documentation. Now, since the contemporary records of those days are not available today, our chain of authorities for most of the traditions reaches only upto the two historians of the campaign, especially Ibn Ishaq (d. 150) and Waqidi (d. 207). Whatever early documents these savants had the opportunity to go through, most of these could have been dated with months and days. This is almost sure, as both have tried to date all the events to the extent of giving even the hour and the minutes, besides the date, wherever it was possible.[1]

It is also evident, while comparing the two mutually, that they had common sources of their information to a large extent. Examples are the descriptions of *Hijra*, Abwa, Ashira, Badr, Sawiq, Hamra al-Asad, Banu Nadir, Dumat al-Jundal, Hudaybiya, Hunayn and fall of Mecca. But on the other hand there are quite a few events which betray independent sources of information for each of them. And here it is noteworthy that, inspite of having the book of Ibn Ishaq before him, Waqidi was so confident about his own source and research, that he just neglected Ibn Ishaq on these points. Those events are as follows :

1. As narrated by Abd al-Hamid b. Jafar.

Events	Dates according to Ibn Ishaq.	Dates according to Waqidi.
Kurz b. Jabir Fahri	Jumada II A.H. 2	Rabi I A.H. 2
Bani Sulaym	Shawwal A.H. 2	Muharram A.H. 3
Dhi Amr	Muharram A.H. 3	Rabi I A.H. 3
Sariya of Zaya b. Haritha	Rabi I A.H. 3	Jumada II A.H. 3
Uhud	Shawwal A.H. 3	Muharram A.H. 4(1)
Raji Accident	Shawwal-Dhu'l Qada A.H. 3	Safar A.H. 4
Badr Mawaid	Shaban A.H. 4	Dhu'l-Qada A.H. 4
Dhat al-Riqa	Jumada I A.H. 4	Muharram A.H. 5
Kirami Arinain	Jumada I A.H. 6	Shawwal A.H. 6
Khaybar	Muharram A.H. 7	Jumada I A.H. 7

And this is the point where the idea of double calendar theory is born.

I am of the opinion that, in the days of the Prophet and his Companions, when these memoirs were being noted down in black and white, some of the narrators belonged to the community of the "Muhajirs", the Emigrants, while some others belonged to the "Ansar" community, the Helpers. And most probably, the narrations of the Emigrants were recorded according to the Meccan calendar, while the Helpers (Ansars) were using their pure lunar calendar.

Further, I hold that when these traditions were gathered together for compilation in the days of the Followers of the Companions (Tabiun), the important point as to which of these documents were Meccans and which ones Medinians, was missed. Since both the calendars had the months with common names, all of them were taken as the dates of the same calendar which was prevalent during the days of the compilers, *i.e.* the Medinian Lunar Calendar.

And lastly, in my opinion, it was long before the time of Ibn Ishaq and Waqidi that these dates were mixed and confused; as it is not the case that Ibn Ishaq should always record a Meccan

1. See Ibn Hisham on *Hijra*, and Tabari on the assassination of the Iranian Emperor.

date and Waqidi invariably a Medinian one. The examples will illustrate the point :

Events	Ibn Ishaq's record	Waqidi's record
Kurz b. Jabir Fahri	Medinian	Meccan
Banu Sulaym	Meccan	Medinian
Dhi Amr	Meccan	Medinian
Uhud	Meccan	Medinian
Raji	Meccan	Medinian
Badr Mawid	Meccan	Medinian
Dhat al-Riqa	Medinian	Meccan
Kurz b. Jabir Ila Arimain	Meccan	Medinian
Khaybar	Meccan	Medinian

At the most we can guess that most of the sources of Ibn Ishaq were Meccan, while in Waqidi's case most of the source material consisted of the Medinian records.

Now the important point is : what is the acid test to declare a particular event to have been recorded according to the Meccan and not the Medinian calendar, or *vice versa* ?

In this regard, my methodology has been as follows :

(i) Apart from the variants of the two major sources for the *Sira*, Ibn Ishaq and Waqidi, there are quite a number of references at other places which bear testimony to the working of a double-calendar. This enables us to decide the dates of at least a score of events with full confidence.

(ii) Some of the events have been recorded with a seasonal evidence. Through the 'seasonal' approach we can arrive at approximate dates, and hence can decide whether the narrator had the Meccan chronology in his mind or otherwise. And in turn, it can lead us to ascertain the exact dates of such events.

(iii) Some of the events have already been preserved by contemporary history, and some others have been dated with the help of astronomy. The assassination of the Emperor of Iran and the eclipse of the moon are the respective examples.

(iv) The recorded proximity or closeness of some other events to the dated events of the above three categories may also lead to a positive clue for dating the former ones.

(v) Coincidence of the dates and the day may also help us in discovering the right direction.

(vi) Last but not least, comes our historical reasoning.

The lost Calendar Reconstructed

The Meccan Calendar: Having done this much, what remains now for us is to select such moons whose first appearance occurred just before or after the Sun entered the Libra, and close to autumnal equinox, a period during which the full moon could be seen in Aires. Having taken such months as the first months of the Meccan year, the Muharram, the remaining ones be arranged accordingly.

In this regard, it will be an easier method to select such months from the Lunar calendar where the moon's first appearance should have occurred close to the autumnal equinox *i.e.* Sep. 22. It matters little if these moons appeared in the month of September or in October. Reckoning these months as the first of the year, the complete calendar may be arranged.

This method has been adopted because, during the time of the Prophet, as calculations have it, the Sun entered Libra, but it was understood to be the beginning of Kharif.

We would be required to add four KABISA years from 1 A.H. to 10 A.H. Since 10 solar years mean 3682 days and 10 lunar years 3543, thus giving a difference of 109 days *i.e.* 3 months and 21 days, this may be covered in Luni-solar calendar by adding full 4 months. This will make the days of both the solar and the lunar years almost equal in the 11th years.

According to the lunar calendar the moon's position as described above, should correspond to the following days :

A.H. 1	Sunday	Sep. 12, 622
A.H. 2	Saturday	Oct. 1, 623
A.H. 3	Thursday	Sep. 20, 624

A.H. 4	Monday	Sep. 9, 625
A.H. 5	Saturday	Sep. 28, 626
A.H. 6	Thursday	Sep. 17, 627
A.H. 7	Wednesday	Oct. 5, 628
A.H. 8	Monday	Sep. 25, 629
A.H. 9	Friday	Sep. 14. 630
A.H. 10	Wednesday	Oct. 2, 631

All these moons are in such a position when the Sun should definitely be in Libra on their 14th day, and the moon, the full moon, just opposite to it in Aires.

We have now the problem of the KABISA and the non-Kabisa years, or in other words, which ones of these years be declared as the Kabisa years ? Further, where should the additions be made : at the beginning, towards the end or in the middle as was the Jewish system ? Traditions supporting each of the three claims are on record.

Shahristani (p. 443) and Masudi (*al-Tanbih*/219) are quite clear that the addition in the 2nd / 3rd year was made after the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, and that the three important rituals concerning the annual pilgrimage and the speciality of Dhu'l-Hijja, were postponed and carried over so as to be performed on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of this added month. (Shahristani / 443; Masudi : *al Tanbih* / 219).

But there are other evidences including that of the *Qur'an* (*Yuhillunahu Aman wa Yuharrimunahu Aman*),[1] to prove that at times the additional month was appended at the beginning of the year, between Muharram and Safar (see al-Marzuqi : *Bulugh al-Irab* / II / 298). Occasionally, the addition was also made between Rajab and Shaban. (*Bulugh al-Irab*/II/298).

I confess that I have failed to discover these additions in any record. What I could do, however, was to add at the end of the Ist and the 4th years, and in the beginning and

1. Whenever they intended to declare the additional month a *halal* month, they named it Safar; otherwise it was to be a Muharram preceding the other Muharram. *Bulugh al-Irab* II 298; al-Marzuqi; Ibn Habid/157).

middle of the 6th and the 9th year. These additions are, however, made according to calculations, so that the first of Muharram should remain close to autumnal equinox, and the Pilgrimage should occur while the Sun is in Virgo.

I am sure the pattern was not different from the one presented by me.

The chart for the reconstructed Meccan calendar follows :

CHART

1 A.H.	2 A.H.	3 A.H.	4 A.H.	5 A.H.	6 A.H.	7 A.H.	8 A.H.	9 A.H.	10 A.H.
Muharram Sep. 13, 622 Monday	Muharram Oct. 2, 623 Sunday	Muharram Sep. 21, 624 Friday	Muharram Sep. 10,625 Tuesday	Muharram Sep 28,626 Sunday	Muharram Sep. 18,627 Friday	Muharram Oct. 6,628 Thursday	Muharram Sep. 26,629 Tuesday	Muharram Sep. 15,630 Saturday	Muharram Oct. 3,631 Thursday
Safar Oct. 13 Wednesday	Safar Oct. 31 Monday	Safar Oct. 20 Saturday	Safar Oct 9 Wednesday	Safar Oct. 28 Tuesday	NASI (Muharram) Oct. 18 Sunday	Safar Nov. 4 Friday	Safar Oct. 15 Wednesday	Safar Oct. 14 Sunday	Safar Nov. 2 Saturday
Rabiᶜ I Nov. 11 Thursday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 30 Wednesday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 19 Monday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 8 Friday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 26 Wednesday	Safar Nov. 16 Monday	Rabiᶜ I Dec. 4 Sunday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 24 Friday	Rabiᶜ I Nov. 13 Tuesday	Rabiᶜ I Dec. 1 Sunday
Rabiᶜ II Dec. 1 Saturday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 29 Thursday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 18 Tuesday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 7 Saturday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 26 Friday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 16 Wednesday	Rabiᶜ II Jan. 2 Monday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 23 Saturday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 12 Wednesday	Rabiᶜ II Dec. 31 Tuesday
Jumada I Jan. 9 623 Sunday	Jumada I Jan. 28 Saturday	Jumada I Jan. 17 Thursday	Jumada I Jan. 6 Monday	Jumada I Jan. 24 Saturday	Rabiᶜ II Jan. 14 Thursday	Jumada I Feb. 1 Wednesday	Jumada I Jan. 22 Monday	Jumada I Jan. 11 Friday	Jumada I Jan. 29 Thursday
Jumada II Feb. 8 Tuesday	Jumada II Feb. 26 Sunday	Jumada II Feb. 15 Friday	Jumada II Feb. 4 Tuesday	Jumada II Feb. 23 Monday	Jumada I Feb. 13 Saturday	Jumada II March 2 Thursday	Jumada II Feb. 20 Tuesday	Jumada II Feb. 9 Saturday	Jumada II Feb. 28 Friday

Rajab **Mar. 9** **Wednesday**	Rajab Mar. 27 Tuesday	Rajab Mar. 17 Sunday	Rajab Mar. 6 Thursday	Rajab Mar. 24 Tuesday	Jumada II Mar. 13 Sunday	Rajab Apr. 1 Saturday	Rajab Mar. 23 Thursday	Rajab Mar. 11 Monday	Rajab Mar 29 Sunday
Sha‘ban **Apr. 8** **Friday**	Sha‘ban Apr. 25 Wednesday	Sha‘ban Apr. 15 Monday	Sha‘ban Apr. 4 Friday	Sha‘ban Apr. 23 Thursdoy	Rajab Apr. 12 Tuesday	Sha ban May 1 Monday	Sha‘ban Apr 20 Friday	Sha‘ban Apr. 9 Tuesday	Sha‘ban Apr. 28 Tuesday
Ramadan **May 7** **Saturday**	Ramadan May 25 Friday	Ramadan May 15 Wednesday	Ram dan May 4 Sunday	Ramadan May 23 Saturday	Sha‘ban May 11 Wednesday	Ramadan May 31 Wednesday	Ramadan May 20 Sunday	Sha‘ban May 9 Thursday	Ramadan May 27 Wed./Thurs.
Shawwal **June 6** **Monday**	Shawwal June 24 Monday	Shawwal June 13 Sunday	Shawwal June 2 Thursday	Shawwal June 22 Monday	Ramadan June 10 Friday	Shawwal June 29 Thursday	Shawwal June 18 Monday	Ramadan June 7 Friday	Shawwal June 26 Friday
Dhu’l- **Qa‘da** **July 5** **Tuesday**	D. Q. July 24 Tuesday	D Q. July 13 Saturday	D. Q. July 2 Wednesday	D. Q. July 21 Tuesday	Shawwal July 9 Saturday	D Q. July 29 Saturday	D Q. July 18 Wednesday	Shawwal July 7 Saturday	D Q. July 25 Sunday
Dhu’l-Hijja **Aug 4** **Thursday**	D. H. Aug. 22 Wednesday	D. H. Aug. 11 Sunday	D. H. July 31 Thursday	D. H. Aug. 20 Monday	Dhu’l- Qa‘da Aug 20 Monday	D H. Aug. 8 Sunday	D. H. Aug. 27 Thursday	D Qa‘da Aug. 5 Monday	D. H. Aug. 24 Monday
Dhu’l-Hijj **Nasi** **Sep 2** **Friday**			D H. Nasi Muharram Aug. 30 Saturday		D. H. Nasi Sep. 6 Tuesday			D H. Nasi Sept 4 Wednesday	

NOTE : I have taken care not to disturb the arrangement of the days of the week, falling on the lunar dates, according to the conventional calendar. To have these corresponding dates and days more strengthened, I have also slightly diverged from the conventional system of counting 30 days in the lunar Muharram and 29 in Safar, so as to correspond to the international calendar. The difference of one day in the lunar scheme is however, negligible.

I may illustrate it by an example : Muharram of the year 2 A. H. was to be counted as of 30 days and the Safar as of 29. This would have started Safar on Tuesday the 1st November 623 A. D. But Wustenfeld's Chronology starts one of the lunar months on October 31, which adjusted in my theory as to be the Meccan Safar of the Year 2 A. H. Hence, I declared October 31 as the 1st Safar instead of November 1, and thus I brought in line my scheme with the conventional day as well as the dates.

THE MEDINIAN CALENDAR

While going through the working of the luni-solar Meccan Calendar for the dating of the life of Muhammad. I have come across quite a good number of events which have been dated under a pure lunar scheme of calendar. This I have named the Medinian Calendar.

This much is now clear that the two systems, the Meccan and the Medinian, differed from each other fundamentally, although the names of the months were common to both which the Medinian had taken from the Meccan of this kind may be found in the Christian months taken from the Jewish Calendar and from elsewhere.

In ancient times, the original basis and the utility of a luni-solar calendar was simply to have the gifts and the firstlings of the year conveniently collected at the central sanctuaries. There was no such known sanctuary at Medina, nor is there any trace in history that Medina knew anything of the kind of Nasi authorities which only a luni-solar society required.

Again, there are a number of events from the life of the the Prophet which seem to have been recorded according to a Pure lunar scheme of chronology.

Its source was surely in Medina.

After the Emigration, Medina adopted the Meccan Calendar but its now pure lunar system also persisted.

As a matter of fact, both systems continued side by side at least till the years 9th and 10th A. H., and the Meccan one served as the religious calendar of the Muslims till A.H. 9; Ashura and Ramadan were observed according to the same Meccan calendar. In the beginning of A. H. 9, however, when the Prophet declared his calendar as abrogated, the Islamic calendar changed over from the absolute Meccan to the local Medinian calendar. Today, the Islamic calendar is the same Medinian calendar as was adopted in A. H 9.

NOTE for the Medinian chart : One lunar month contains 29.53 days, twelve months, *i e.* a year, getting 354.36 days. Actually, it comes, to 353 minimum and 355 maximum days, and only 3 consecutive months could be of 29 days, and four consecutive months of 30. For the convenience of calculation, however, the astronomers count 30 days in Muharram and 29 in Safar, and so on onward, *i.e.* one month of 30 days and the next of 29. And in 30 years, Dhu'l-Hijja is also counted as of 30 days.

All these are, however, mere calculations and might vary by a day because of the visibility or non-visibility of the moon.

Below is the chart of the Medinian calendar for the period 1 to 11 A.H. wherein I have given the days for the first of every month, besides noting the Christian dates. These have already been compared with Cunningham and Wustenfeld :

CHART OF THE MEDINIAN CALENDAR DURING THE LIFE-TIME OF THE PROPHET IN MEDINA

1 A.H	2 A.H.	3 A.H.	4 A.H.	5 A H.	6 A.H.	7 A.H.	8 A.H	9 A H.	10 A.H.	11 A H.
Muharram Friday July 16, 622	Muharram Tuesday July 5	Muharram Sunday June 24	Muharram Thursday June 13	Muharram Monday June 2	Muharram Saturday May 23	Muharram Wednesday May 11	Muharram Monday May 1	Muharram Friday Apr 20	Muharram Tuesday Apr. 9	Muharram Sunday Mar. 29
Safar Sunday Aug. 15	Safar Thursday Aug. 4	Safar Tuesday July 24	Safar Saturday July 13	Safar Wednesday July 2	Safar Monday June 22	Safar Friday June 10	Safar Wednesday May 31	Safar Sunday May 20	Safar Thursday May 9	Safar Tuesday Apr. 28
Rabiʿ I Monday Sep. 13	Rabiʿ I Friday Set. 2	Rabiʿ I Wednesday Aug. 22	Rabiʿ I Sunday Aug. 11	Rabiʿ I Thursday July 31	Rabiʿ I Tuesday July 21	Rabiʿ I Saturday July 9	Rabiʿ I Thursday June 29	Rabiʿ I Monday June 18	Rabiʿ I Friday June 7	Rabiʿ I Wednesday May 27
Rabiʿ II Wednesday Oct. 13	Rabiʿ II Sunday Oct. 2	Rabiʿ II Friday Sep. 21	Rabiʿ II Tuesday Sep. 10	Rabiʿ II Saturday Aug. 30	Rabiʿ II Thursday Aug 20	Rabiʿ II Monday Aug. 8	Rabiʿ II Saturday July 29	Rabiʿ II Wednesday July 18	Rabiʿ II Sunday July 7	Rabiʿ II Friday June 26
Jumada I Thursday Nov. 11	Jumada I Monday Oct. 31	Jumada I Saturday Oct. 20	Jumada I Wednesday Oct. 9	Jumada I Sunday Sep. 28	Jumada I Friday Sep. 18	Jumada I Tuesday Sep. 6	Jumada I Sunday Aug. 27	Jumada I Thursday Aug. 16	Jumada I Monday Aug 5	Jumada I Saturday July 23

Jumada II Saturday Dec. 11	Jumada II Wednesday Nov. 30	Jumada II Monday Nov 19	Jumada II Friday Nov. 8	Jumada II Tuesday Oct. 28	Jumada II Sunday Oct. 18	Jumada II Thursday Oct. 6	Jumada II Tuesday Sep 25	Jumada II Saturday Sep. 15	Jumada II Wednesday Sep. 4	Jumada II Monday Aug. 24
Rajab Sunday Jan. 9, 623	Rajab Tuesday Dec. 29	Rajab Thursday Dec. 18	Rajab Saturday Dec. 7	Rajab Wednesday Nov. 26	Rajab Monday Nov. 16	Rajab Friday Nov. 4	Rajab Wednesday Oct 25	Rajab Sunday Oct. 14	Rajab Thursday Oct. 3	
Sha'ban Tuesday Feb. 8	Sha'ban Satnrday Jan. 28, 624	Sha'ban Thursday Jan. 17, 625	Sha'ban Monday Jan. 6, 626	Sha'ban Friday Dec. 26	Sha'ban Wednesday Dec. 16	Sha'ban Sunday Dec. 4	Sha'ban Friday Nov. 24	Sha'ban Tuesday Nov. 13	Sha'ban Saturday Nov. 2	
Ramadan Wednesday Mar. 9	Ramadan Sunday Feb. 26	Ramadan Friday Feb. 15	Ramadan Tuesday Feb. 4	Ramadan Saturday Jan. 24	Ramadan Thursday Jan. 14, 628	Ramadan Mondey Jan. 2, 629	Ramadan Saturday Dec. 23	Ramadan Wednesday Dec. 12	Ramadan Sunday Dec. 1	
Shawwal Friday Apr. 8	Shawwal Tuesday Mar. 27	Shawwal Sunday Mar. 17	Shawwal Thursday Mar. 6	Shawwal Monday Feb. 23	Shawwal Saturday Feb. 13	Shawwal Wednesday Feb. 1	Shawwal Monday Jan. 22,630	Shawwal .. . . Jan. 11, 631	Shawwal Tuesday Dec. 31	
Dhu'l-Qa'da Saturday May 7	D. Q. Wednesday Apr. 25	D. Q. Monday Apr. 15	D. Q. Friday Apr. 4	D. Q. Tuesday Mar. 24	D. Q. Sunday Mar. 13	D. Q Thursday Mar. 2	D. Q. Tuesday Feb. 20	D. Q. Saturday Feb. 9	D. Q. Wednesday Jan. 29	
Dhu'l-Hijja Monday June 6	D. H. Friday May 25	D. H. Wednesday May 15	D. H. Sunday May 4	D. H. Thursday Apr. 23	D. H. Tuesday Apr. 12	D. H. Saturday Apr. 1	D. H. Thursday Mar. 23	D. H. Monday Mar. 11	D. H. Friday Feb. 28	

V. Testing the theory :

The theory presented in the preceding pages may now be put to test. Selecting some events from the first to the last *Hijra* year of the life of the Prophet, the double-calendar theory is applied to them to judge its accuracy. The period preceding the *Hijra* is not definitive in chronology, and therefore, not very useful for the purpose of applying this theory to it. In the beginning a chart for the years under review has been given, and then the various dated events have been discussed :

CHART for the years 1 and 2 of the *Hijra*

	Meccan	Julian date and days		Medinian Hijra
	Muharram[1]	Sep. 13, 622 :	Monday	Rabi I
	Safar	Oct. 13 :	Wed.	Rabi II
The *Hijra* taking place on Rabi I, 12, Monday.	Rabi I	Nov. 11 :	Thurs.	Jumada I
	Rabi II	Dec. 11 :	Saturday	Jumada II
	Jumada I	Jan. 9, 623 :	Sunday	Rajab
	Jumada II	Feb. 8 :	Tuesday	Sha'ban
	Rajab	Mar. 9 :	Wednesday	Ramadan
	Sha'ban	Apr. 8 :	Friday	Shawwal
	Ramadan	May. 7 :	Saturday	Dhul-Qada
	Shawwal	June 6 :	Monday	Dhul-Hijja
	Dhu'l-Qada	July 5 :	Tuesday	Muharram (Year of *Hijra* 2)
	Dhu'l-Hijja	Aug. 4 :	Thursday	Safar
	Dhu'l-Hijja Nasi'	Sep. 2 :	Friday	Rabi I

The agreed date of the entry of the Prophet in Qaba-Medina is Monday, the 12th of Rabi I. But al-Biruni, Margoliouth,

1. It is interesting to note that in Mahler's Comparative Tables (German) quoted by Dr. Hamidullah (*Maarif*: Sep. '67) the first of the Tishri 4383. corresponds to Sep 11, 620 (and Tishri here means Muharram).

H.G. Wells and *Shibli* date it 8th of Rabi I. which corresponds to A.D. Sep. 2,622. This is so because Monday does not fall on the 12th but on the 8th according to the accepted lunar calendar.

But according to my theory, it was definitely a Monday on the 12th, as the first of the Meccan Rabi I of that year corresponds to Nov. 11, 622, Rabi I 12th being 22nd Nov. of the Julian calendar.[1]

Chart for the year 2 and 3

Meccan	Julian			Medinian Hijra
Muharram	Oct. 2, 623	:	Sunday	Rabi II
Safar	Oct. 31	:	Monday	Jumada I
Rabi I	Nov. 30	:	Wednesday	Jumada II
Rabi II	Dec. 29	:	Thursday	Rajab
Jumada I	Jan. 28, 624	:	Saturday	Shaban
Jumada II	Feb. 26,	:	Sunday	Ramadan
Rajab	Mar.27	:	Tuesday	Shawwal
Sha'ban	Apr. 25	:	Wednesday	Dhu'l-Qa'da
Ramadan	May 25	:	Friday	Dhu'l-Hijja
Shawwal	June 24	:	Saturday	Muharram (Year 3)

1. May I give a note of caution to the theory of Percival, which is the basis of Muir. This theory also gives a Monday on 12th of Rabi I, and apparently, the theory seems to be correct ; but actually it gives a totally wrong, and just the opposite seasons for the events. For example the event which according to Muir occured in the month of June (June 28), the month of extreme heat, while it is a unanimously accepted historical fact that on the night of the *Hijra*, 'Ali slept on the bed of the Prophet coveriug himsalf with a woollen sheet, and Muir himself has described it Obviously, one does not sleep with a wollen sheet over one in June in Mecca Again, there are traditions stating that when the Prophet entered Medina it was the time of the harvest. Hamidullah, in his latest explanations (World Oriental Congress, *vide Maarif* Sept. 67) considers it as corresponding to May 31, A.D. 622

Dhu'l-Qada	July 24	:	Tuesday	Safar
Dhu'l-Hijja	Aug. 22	:	Wednesday	Rabi I

Ghazwa Talab Kurz b. Jabir Fahri.	According to Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Habib it occurred in the month Jumada II, while Waqidi and Ibn Sa'd date it in Rabi I, the year being 2 *Hijra*. And both the narrations stand true in view of the present chart devised on the same double-calendar theory.

The same is the case with the following :

The change of the Qibla. It is generally believed that it took place in Sha'ban, while Imam Zuhri dates it in Jumada. And the Meccan Jumada I was the Sha'ban in the Medinian calendar.

Ghazwat Yanbu (Thursday, Sha'ban 2, the year of *Hijra* 2) And *Agreements with Banu Ghifar and Aslam* (Tuesday, the 14th Sha'ban, year 2) have been dated by Ibn Habib according to the Meccan records. So also is Badr, occurring in Ramadan, which must be the Meccan Ramadan which falls in the month of June. Traditions support that the weather was quite warm at this time.

The Marriage of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet : Tabari's statement puts it in late Safar, while the Shi'ite divines agree on of Dhu'l-Hijja 1 ; Safar obviously being the Medinian record and the latter a Meccan one (the Ist of Dhu'l-Hijja, and the last of Safar might actually fall on the same day as one day's difference does not count much in a lunar month).

The Killing of Kab b. Ashraf seems to be recorded in the Medinian Calendar, as the Meccan Rabi' I of the year 3 coincided with the winter, and it certainly was not a winter.

Chazwat Dhu Amr According to Ibn Ishaq it took place in the late Dhu'l-Hijja, while Waqidi gives Rabi I (of the year

3) as its date. The Chart again comes to our rescue, and both stand correct.

Now there are two interesting events, namely, *Ghazwat Dhu' al-Ashira* which occurred in Jumada I and *Ghazwat Abwa* which took place in Safar.

And Jumada follows Safar in order. But the Bukhari traditions declare Dhat al-Ashira as the first Ghazwa. Now, in our chart for the year 2, the Meccan Safar corresponds to the Medinian Jumada I, thus the contradiction is removed keeping in view the possibility that since both the events belong to the same month, one (Dhat al-Ashira) might preceded the other.

Chart for the year 3 and 4

Meccan	Julian			Medinian
Muharram	Sep 21, 624 A.D.		Friday	Rabi II
Safar	Oct. 20	:	Saturday	Jumada I
Rabi I	Nov. 19	:	Monday	Jumada II
Rabi II	Dec. 18	:	Tuesday	Rajab
Jumada I	Jan. 17,625	:	Thursday	Shaban
Jumada II	Feb. 15	:	Friday	Ramadan
Rajab	Mar. 17	:	Sunday	Shawwal
Shaban	Apr. 15	:	Monday	Dhul-Qada
Ramadan	May. 15	:	Wednesday	Dhul-Hijja
Shawwal	June 13	:	Thursday	Muharram (Hijra)
Dhul-Qada	July 13	:	Saturday	Safar
Dhul-Hijja	Aug. 11	:	Sunday	Rabi I.

Sariyat Zayd b. Haritha : The Ishaq dates it as six months after Badr, *i.e.* Rabi I, 3 A.H., while Waqidi and Ibn Sad fix it in Jumada II. According to the traditions when the *Sarya* took place it was winter. According to our chart, the Meccan Rabi I of 3 A.H. is exactly the Medinian Jumada II; and the corresponding Julian month Nov.-Dec. is a good winter.

The marriage of Umm Kulthum : Waqidi states that the marriage ceremony, *Nikah*, was held in Rabi I (3. A.H.), but the final farewell to bride took place in Jumada II, making no sense, was so far quite doubtful. Now the chart solves it, one of the months being Meccan while the other a Medinian one

Waqidi, perhaps received two different narrations from two different sources and unable to declare them identical, just tried to rationalise them in this way.

The battle of Uhud and Hamara al-Asad : All traditions place it in the month of Shawwal. At least according to one of the sources of Waqidi, it should have occurred in Muharram. Now the chart gives the Meccan Shawwal as June 13 and Muharram of the Medina calendar. The season when fresh dates, according to Muir, were distributed among the warriors would also tally if we declare it, according to the chart, a Shawwal of the Meccan and a Muharram of the Medinian calendar.

A few days after the return from the battle of Hamra al-Asad, the widow of one of the Companion warriors held a feast in the date garden in honour of the Prophet and his Companions, and fresh dates(*Rutab*) were served after the dinner According to the tradition these dates were the very first ones or almost the first ones after the harvest. In Hijaz, June and July are the months of fresh dates. Now, if we declare the incident as having taken place in the lunar Shawwal 3 A.H., it would correspond the month of March, which is obviously not a season of fresh dates. Surprisingly enough, Muir dates Uhud in the month of January (625 A.D.), when there is no question of fresh dates there.

Chart for the year A,H. 4-5,

Meccan	Julian			Medinian
Muharram	Sep. 10,625 A.D.		Tuesday	Rabi II
Safar	Oct. 9	:	Wednesday	Jumada I
Rabi I	Nov. 8	:	Friday	Jumada II
Rabi II	Dec. 7	:	Saturday	Rajab
Jumada I	Jan. 6,626 A.D.		Monday	Shaban
Jumada II	Feb. 4	.	Tuesday	Ramadan
Rajab	March 6	;	Thursday	Shawwal
Shaban	Apr. 4	:	Friday	Dhu'l-Qada
Ramadan	May 4	:	Sunday	Dhu'l-Hijja
Shawwal	June 2	:	Monday	Muharram 5 A.H.
Dhul-Qada	July 2	:	Wednesday	Safar
Dhul-Hijja	July 31	:	Thursday	Rabi I
Nasta	Aug.30	:	Saturday	Rabi II

Ghazwat of Banu Nadir : Ibn Habib dates it as Tuesday, the 12th of Rabi I, 4 A.H. The date fits in with the Meccan calendar. It howeves fails the calendar by Wustenfeld.

Ghazwa of Uhud Mawid : The date of the last expedition to Uhud is described by Ibn Ishaq (and Ibn Habib) as Shaban I, while Waqidi and Ibn Sad record its dates as Dhul-Qada I. The difference of the two statements exactly fits in with our calendar, where the Meccan Shaban corresponds to the Medinian Dhul-Qada. Ibn Ishaq has, moreover, placed it after Dhat al-Riqa which is wrong, while Waqidi correctly predates it.

Ibn Habib records the expedition as having started on Thursday. Incidently, in Wustenfeld's Calendar the last of Dhul-Qada fell exactly on a Thursday.

Chart for the year A.H. 5-6.

Meccan	Julian calendar		Medinian
Muharram	Sep. 28, 626 A.D.	: Sunday	Jumada I
Safar	Oct. 28	: Tuesday	Jumada II
Rabi I	Nov. 26	: Wednesday	Rajab
Rabi II	Dec. 26	: Friday	Shaban
Jumada I	Jan. 24, 627 A.D.	:	Ramadan
Jumada II	Feb. 23	: Monday	Shawwal
Rajab	Mar. 24	: Tuesday	Dhul-Qada
Shaban	Apr. 23	: Thursday	Dhul-Hijja
Ramadan	May. 23	: Saturday	Muharram 6 A.H.
Shawwal	June. 22	: Monday	Safar
Dhul-Qada	July. 21	: Tuesday	Rabi I
Dhul-Hijja	Aug. 20	: Thursday	Rabi II

Historians mention the occurrence of a moon eclipse in the year 5 in the month of Jumada II. The eclipse actually took place on November 9, 626 A.D., and this exactly corresponds to a Medinian Jumada II.

The battle of Dhat al-Riqa : Ibn Ishaq has dated it in the month of Jumada of the year 4 A.H. ; Ibn Habib elaborates it as Monday, the 10th of Jumada I. On the other hand

Waqidi and Ibn Sad put it in the Muharram of the year 5 A.H.

This early difference of dating this *ghazwa* resulted in its date being disputable (Qastalani : 137) ; again some historians began to place it, in a chronological order, after the Ghazwa of Banu Qurayza (Qastlani, quoting Abu Mi'shar)

Actually, this discrepancy arose again due to a misunderstanding of the double-calendar documentation, which is clear from my chart, the Meccan Muharram falling in the Medinian Jumada I. (The record of the year 4 is however a misunderstanding on the part of Ibn Ishaq. The date, namely, 10th Jumada also stands corrected, as in Wustenfeld the 1st Jumada I was a Sunday, which brings a Monday on the 9th instead of 10th; but then this one day's difference is negligible in the calculated calendar, keeping in view the variability of the visibility of the first moon.

Chart for the year A.H. 6-7.

Meccan	Julian Calendar		Medinian
Muharram 6 A.H.	Sep. 18, 627 A.D.	: Friday	Jumada I
Nasi[1]	Oct. 18	: Saturday	Jumada II
Safar	Nov. 16	: Monday	Rajab
Rabi I	Dec. 16	: Wednesday	Shaban
Rabi II	Jan. 14, 628 A.D.	Thursday	Ramadan
Jumada I	Feb. 13	: Saturday	Shawwal
Jumada II	Mar. 13	: Sunday	Dhul-Qada
Rajab	Apr. 12	: Tuesday	Dhul-Hijja
Shaban	May 11	: Wednesday	Muharram-7 A.H.
Ramadan	June 10	: Friday	Safar
Shawwal	July 9	: Saturday	Rabi I
Dhul-Qada	Aug. 8	: Monday	Rabi II
Dhul-Hijja	Sep. 6	: Tuesday	Jumada I

1 During the last two Kabisa years, the intercalary months were added at the end of the year. In the present year this addition is made at the beginning.

The Sarya of Kurz b. Jabir Fahri is differently dated, namely, Jumada II and Shawwal. Both are however correct as noticed in my calendar, one of the months being that of the Medinian record, while the other, a Meccan.

The Truce of Hudaybiya and the Kisra Assassination : Ibn Ishaq and Waqidi agree that the Prophet started for Mecca in Dhul-Qada. Ibn sad has also fixed the day and the date as Monday, the 1st of Dhul-Qada. Wustenfeld puts a Sunday on the 1st., which in a lunar month may easily be taken as Monday. (Ibn Habib's Thursday is definitely incorrect). But, then, inspite of the consensus on the recorded date, certain subsidiary statements and narrations create confusion :

Abu Nuaym (*Dalail Nubuwwa*) and Tabari record that the Iranians were defeated and that Kisra was killed during the period of the Prophet's stay at Hudaybiya. Waqidi and Ibn Khaldun have also dated the incident of Kisra's death as Tuesday, the 10th of Jumada I. Now, if the record of the Muslim historians for this Iranian event is not just fictitious, then the Hudaybiya Truce should have necessarily taken place close to that date. Our chart for the year under review solves the issue; in it a Medinian Dhul-Qada (the month of Hudaybiya) coincides with a Meccan Jumada II (the second month of the assassination of Kisra), and it is not improbable that an Iranian news of Jumada I should have reached Hijaz in the following month. This also clarifies the fact that the date of the assassination of Kisra was recorded in the Meccan calendar, while the Hudaybiya record remained in the Medinian calendar, except that the whole record remained doubtful for quite a long time. It will be interesting to note that, after bringing it under the double-calendar theory, the date and surprisingly enough even the day comes quite close to the Julian date which is recorded by Gibbon as February 628 (Hamidullah dates it on the evidence of Kisra's own letter as February 27, 628), fifth day after his arrest : the 23rd February of Waqidi corresponding to the 10th of Jumada I bringing the fifth day exactly the 27th (with Gibbons it differs only by two days).[1] In the view of Dr. Hamidullah, Waqidi's dating of

1. According to the calculations, the Ist of the Meccan Jumada I corresponded to Saturday, Feb. 13, 628 ; the 10th to 22nd of Feb. which is a Monday. But since according to the traditions it was a Tuesday,

Jumada I was wrong in the light of the positive Iranian and the Roman records for the date of the assassination of Kisra.

Now is it not something commenable, something worth appreciating in the art of Muslim historiography that there should be the precise record of even the day, a Tuesday for the event, at such an early stage of human skill, and knowledge !

Another confusing element in the traditions is placing of the Truce month in such a manner as to coincide with the days when Arab tribes hastened towards Mecca for the pilgrimage. They used to perform the minor pilgrimage called *Umra* in the month of Rajab. The Medinian month of Dhul-Qada, as has already been said, corresponds to the month which precedes Rajab by 29-30 days. And thus keeping it in mind that the Dhul-Qada is close to the month of the *Umra*, the anomaly is solved.

Chart for the year 7-8

Meccan	Julian			Medinian
Muharram 7 A.H.	Oct.6,628	:	Thursday	Jumada II
Safar	Nov. 4,	:	Friday	Rajab
Rabi I	Dec. 4,	:	Sunday	Shaban
Rabi II	Jan. 2,629	:	Monday	Ramadan
Jumada I	Feb. 1,	:	Wednesday	Shawaal
Jumada II	Mar. 2,	:	Thursday	Dhu'l-Qada
Rajab	Apr. 1,	:	Saturday	Dhu'l-Hijja
Shaban	May 1,	:	Monday	Muharram 8 A. H.
Ramadan	May 31,	:	Wednesday	Safar
Shawwal	June 29,	:	Thursday	Rabi I
Dhul-Qada	July 29,	:	Saturday	Rabi II
Dhul-Hijja	Aug. 27,	:	Sunday	Jumada I

The outstanding event of the year was the Khaybar campaign. It took place according to Iman Malik in the fall of the year 6 A.H.; Ibn Hazm has also agreed with the date. Ibn Ishaq declares it as an event of early 7 A.H. This minor difference, however, is

the difference is negligible according to the visibility of the moon, and according to the day being a Tuesday, we should safely take it as 23rd.

not of much importance since an event beginning in late 6 A.H., may quite naturally continue till the beginning of the following year.

As against this record, Waqidi and Ibn Sad date the event in Jumada I of 7 A.H., *i.e.* almost the middle of the year.[1] Waqidi further affirms his record by placing it almost six months after the Truce of Hudaybiya, and this seems historically to be more correct than the Malik-Ishaq version, which places it about one month or so latter.

The double calendar theory according to which the Meccan Muharram fell in the Medinian Jumada I, solves the problems. (Hence, Waqidi's placing of the event one or one and a half month after the Hudaybiya, as the Hudaybiya Truce took place in the month of Dhul-Qada, again a Meccan month.)

The evidence of the season (after their victory the Muslims finding themselves in possession of huge stocks of dry dates; and the marriage party of Safiya and the Prophet being entertained by dry dates and cheese) also proves that it was September-October of the year, corresponding to the Meccan Muharram and the Medinian Jumada I.

Chart for the year A. H. 8-9.

Meccan	Julian		Medinian
Muharram 8 A.H.	Sep. 26, 629 A.D	Tuesday	Jumada II
Safar	Oct. 25	Thursday	Rajab
Rabi I	Nov. 24	: Friday	Shaban
Rabi II	Dec. 23	: Saturday	Ramadan
Jumada I	Jan. 20, 630, A.D.	Monday	Shawwal
Jumada II	Feb. 20	: Tuesday	Dhul-Qada
Rajab	Mar. 23	: Thursday	Dhul-Hijja
Shaban	Apr. 20	: Friday	Muharram 9 A.H.
Ramadan	May 20	: Sunday	Safar
Shawwal	June 18	:·Monday	Rabi I
Dhul-Qada	July 18	: Wednesday	Rabi II
Dhul-Hijja	Aug. 16	: Thursday	Jumada I

1. Ibn Ishaq himself, in a way, supports Waqidi when he describes the Compaign of Dhvl-Qada as an event of Jumada I, as Bukhari has dated it 3 days before the battle of Khaybar".

The Sarya of Amr b. As : Dhatul Salasil : It has been recorded to have taken place in Jumada II of the year 8 A.H., following the battle of Mawta; the statement gives the impression that it must have occurred just after Mawta. In fact, it was six months later when the weather was so cold that Amr could not take his morning bath. Actually, it was the Meccan Jumada II falling in February 630 A.D.

The conquest of Mecca : Ibn Sad, Waqidi and others have dated the beginning of the expedition to Ramadan 10, A.H. 8. Ibn Sad says it was a Wednesday.

According to Wustenfeld's calendar, the 10th of Ramadan is a Monday and not a Wednesday which leads to the conclusion that it was not a Medinian record, but a Meccan one, the Ramadan being the Meccan Ramadan. Ibn Sad has also provided us with the exact date of the conquest, namely, Friday the 29th of Ramadan and this is exactly what the Wustenfel's calendar corresponds to.

Ibn Sad adds that the Prophet stayed at Mecca for 15 days: this means that his next battle, that of Hunayn, took place on the 6th of the following month, *i.e.* Shawwal. And this is exactly what the historians have recorded.

The evidence that it was a hot summer is unanimously agreed (Ibn Sad; *Mustadrak, Musnad, Muwatta*). But according to Wustenfeld, the Ramadan of 8 A.H. corresponds to December—January. Muir and Shibli follow the same line. But this discrepancy is solved by the reconstructed calendar according to which the Ramadan of 8 A.H. occurs in the months of May—June.

The Battle of Hunayn: Ibn Sad has dated it as Saturday, the 6th of Shawwal A.H. 8. It fits well and exactly with the Meccan calendar, and this is also supported by the evidence of the season.

Chart for the year A.H. 9—10.

Meccan	Julian days and dates		Medinian
Muharram	Se. 15, 630 A.D.	Saturday	Jumada II 9 A.H.
Muharram/Nasi			
Safar	Oct. 14,	: Sunday	Rajab
Safar	Nov. 13	: Tuesday	Shaban
Rabi I	Dec. 12	: Wednesday	Ramadan
Rabi II	Jan. 11. 631 A.D.	...	Shawwal
Jumada I	Feb. 9	: Saturday	Dhul-Qada
Jumada II	Mar. 11	: Monday	Dhul-Hijja
Rajab	Apr. 9	: Tuesday	Muharram 10 A.H.
Shaban	May 9	: Thursday	Safar
Ramadan	June 7	: Friday	Rabi I
Shawwal	July 7	: Sunday	Rabi II
Dhul-Qada	Aug. 5	: Monday	Jumada I
Dhul-Hijja	Sep. 4	: Wednesday	Jumada II

The Sarya of Alqama b. Majraz : It is dated Rabi II of A.H. 9. The expedition is decribed to have taken place in a season when the soldiers kept the fires alive to keep themselves warm. This means that it was a winter, which leads to the point that the Rabi II should be that of the Meccan calendar and not of the Medinian, the latter corresponding to a July while the former falling in January—February 631.

Hajj Abu Bakr : It is dated Dhul-Qada 9 A.H., which gives an impression that it occurred after *Tabuk*. According to our calendar, however, it preceded, as it should have done, the battle of Tabuk, by one month. We are supported in our conclusion by a Quranic verse, in *Bara'a* Chapter, wherein the declaration of Baraa (...........) has preceded the description of the battle of Tabuk In addition to it, we have the evidence of Akrama's that the Prophet left for Tabuk when Abu Bakr had returned from his pilgrimage.

The battle of Tabuk : There is agreement among the warriors started in Rajab 9 A.H. and came back in the month of Shawwal. Ibn Habib, going into more details, says that they started on Monday, the Ist of Rajab, and returned in late Shawwal.

Now, according to Wustenfeld, the outward march corresponded to October-November, which is the beginning of a winter, and the return in January. Muir and Shibli follow the line. Muir dates the outward march in October, and Shibli in November. On the other hand, all the traditions on the biography of the Prophet agree that the weather was warm, almost hot.

Kab b. Malik says that it was a hot summer, and that the battle took place during a season when the fruits were in abundance. Ibn Ishaq has it on the evidence of Zuhri that it was a period of scarcity and drought, and that it was quite hot when fruits are abundant (*khush-ayand*) and people like to go to their orchards and sit beneath the shadows of the trees. The Qur'an itself quotes the hypocrites advising the Muslims thus : "Do'nt go in the heat", and adding its own repartee, "The fire of the hell is the hottest of the fires".

All this evidence proves that it was definitely not a winter, but a summer.

My charts have the Meccan Rajab of the year falling in April-May.

Ibn Habib has dated it as the 1st of Rajab, a Monday. This is also corroborated by my calendar, according to which the first of Rajab falls on a Tuesday, and it was the eve of a Monday.

Chart for the year A.H. 10-11

Meccan	Christian/Julian dates and days			Medinian
Muharram 10 A.H.	Oct 3, 631 A.D.		Thursday	Rajab
Safar	Nov. 2	:	Saturday	Sha'ban
Rabi I	Dec. 1	:	Sunday	Ramadan
Rabi' II	Dec. 31	:	Tuesday	Shawwal
Jumada I	Jan. 29, 632 A.D.		Wednesday	Dhu'l-Qada
Jumada II	Feb. 28	:	Friday	Dhu'l-Hijja
Rajab	Mar. 29	:	Sunday	Muharram 11 A.H.
Sha'ban	Apr. 28	:	Tuesdny	Safar
Ramadan	May 27	:	Wednesday	Rabi ' I
Shawwal	June 26	:	Friday	Rabi' II
Dhu'l-Qa'da	July 25	;	Saturday	Jamada I
Dhu'l-Hijja	Aug. 24	:	Monday	Jumada II

The Sarya of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and that of Khalid b. Walid: The *Sira* literature has a record of the two *Sarya* occurring on different and far apart dates. It is related that Ali was sent to the Yemen in the Ramadan of 10 A.H., while Khalid b. Walid is said to have been sent in Rabi' II. But it is interesting to note that Khalid was instructed that if he happend to meet 'Ali, he should entrust the latter with the command of the entire army. And this means that both the events were contemporaneous and of almost the same period. Now, the Meccan Rabi' II coincides with the Medinian Ramadan. This gives the clue that Khalid's *sarya* was recorded according to the Meccan calendar, while 'Ali's was dated according to the Medinian one.

This, therefore, is the classical example of both the calendar operating at the same time and in the same community, recording the events of almost the same period.

The Farewell Pilgrimage: According to Ibn Sa'd, the Prophet left Medina for the pilgrimage on Saturday, the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da. Now, Wustenfeld also gives us a Saturday on the 25th.

Ibn Sad proceeds to say that when the caravan reached Marr al-Zahran' it was a Monday, and that it was the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja according to Jabir and Ibn 'Abbas. Wustenfeld again stands to the test, and his Monday occurs exactly on the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja. But traditions prove that the pilgrimage of that year's Dhu'l-Hijja fell on a Friday, which means Monday would fall on the 5th instead of on the 4th. One day's difference, however, is negligible in lunar calculations.

IBN ABI AUN

M. A. MUID KHAN

A scholar, poet, author and Secretary of the third century *Hijri*.

GENEALOGY :

His full name is Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad ibn Abi 'Aun al-Katib-al-Baghdadi. His surname, genealogy, life and death are all shrouded in mystery. His biographers and bibliographers give different versions of his surname. Al-Baghdadi in his *Kitaq al-Farb* gives ibn Abi 'Aun's surname, as Abu 'Imran instead of Abu Ishaq while in the colophon of the earliest manuscript of *Kitab-al-Tashbihat* preserved in al-Madina, its scribe writes that he is also known by Abu 'Amr. His genealogy is also a matter of confusion. Ibn al-Nadim in the *Fihrist* traces his genealogy to Ahmad ibn al Munajjim while Yaqut in his *Mu'jam-al-Udaba* describes his lineage as abu Ishaq Ibrahim son of Muhammad son of Abi 'Aun Ahmad son of Hilal Abu'l Najm. This genealogy is corroborated by the fact that this very line of his forefathers has been found in the manuscripts of Ibn Abu 'Auns' works such as *Lubbul Adab fi Radd Jawab Dhawi'l albab* (Manuscript in Berlin State Library—Bibl. Sprenger No. 1205) and also in the *Kitabal-Farq* of al-Baghdadi. Thus according to Yaqut the table of his genealogy is as follows :

Abu'l Najm

Hilal Abu'l Najm — Salih — Majid Abu Dumyyal

Abu 'Aun Ahmad

Muhammad

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim

LIFE :

Ibn Abi 'Aun was a native of al-Anbar, a province in Baghdad. He was a client of Banu Sulaim. He comes of a family which is famous for producing able Secretaries, scholars and poets. Ibn Abi 'Aun's grandfather was Ahmad Abu 'Aun. His great grandfather Hilal and his uncle Salih and Majid were all famous poets and well-known Secretaries. His father Muhammad ibn Abi 'Aun too served Muhammad Ibn 'Abdullah ibn Taher first as a chamberlain and then most probably raised to the status of a general and Governor of Wasit in the reign of al-Mutazz (225/866). Muhammad ibn Abi 'Aun like other members of his family was also a poet whose verses addressed to Ibn-al-Rumy are preserved in al-Muwashshah, p. 349. Ibn Abi 'Aun's grandfather is said to have been master of Muslim scholasticism and an able author of many works in philosophy. He was also a great poet and probably a panegyrist of al-Mutawakkil (232/247/847-861) whose verses are profusely quoted as specimens of rhetorical devices in *Kitab-al-Tashbihat al-'Umdah,* volume I p. 205 and *Kitab-al-Mikhlat p. 184.*

Ibn Abi 'Aun like his forefathers, was a scholar, a poet and a competent Secretary.

On the basis of above-mentioned historical records it may be said that Abu Ishaq Ibrahim-b.-Abi 'Aun was probably born and brought up sometime between the period of the Caliphs al-Mu'tazz (255/866) and al-Mu'tamid (256/870) and may have completed his education by the time al-Mu'tadid (279/892) ascended the throne. This was a period when political disintegration, Carmathians' revolts and religious sectarianian were rampant. Such state of affairs continued till they were crushed by al-Muqtadir (295/908). Though these circumstances in the country were not favourable for education, yet the scholarly environment of Ibn Abi 'Auns' family might have enabled him to acquire education and the position of Secretary as a hereditary profession as he was well-known by the designation of *al-Katib* He is also said to have been a commander and a chief of the Police of Baghdad. He, however, seems to have been one of the Agents of the Court of Baghdad as a number of persons were delivered to him by

Muhassin-b-al-Furat to exact from them the arrears of the Government since a rivalry among the Viziers of al-Muqtadir (Hamid-b-al'Abbas, Muhassin-b-al-Furat and 'Ali-b-'Isa) was going on.

DOCTRINE :

Ibn Abi 'Aun is known to have been one of the adherents of Ibn Abi 'Azakir al-Shalmaghani—a man who is said to have claimed like Hallaj that deity abode in him. He believed in the incarnation of God in a series of Prophets and was a founder of the sect of *al-'Azakariya.* Besides being pious, righteous and ascetic he was also friend of both Hamid ibn Abbas and Muhassin-b-al-Furat the famous Viziers of al-Muqtadir, and exercised great influence over them Ibn Abi 'Aun is said to have suffered martyrdom for his belief in the heretic ideology of his Sufi Leader Ibn Abi 'Azakir al-Shalmaghani. Ibn Nadim (385/995)in the *Fihrist*, al-Baghdadi (429/1037) in *Kitab-al-Farq*, Ibn al-Athir (630/1232) in his *Kamil*, Yaqut (626/1228) in his *Irshad* have clearly stated that al-Shalmaghani and his associate Ibn Abi 'Aun were hanged for their heresy in (322/933) although Ibn Nadims' contemporary biographers like al-Tanukhi (384/994) Ibn Miskwaih (421/1030) and al-Tha'aliby (429/1037) and Ibn al Jauzy(597/1200) make no mention of this capital punishment in spite of referring to al-Shalmaghani. In view of the fact that there is no statement that can be interpreted as heresy in any available works of Ibn Abi 'Aun, one is inclined to conclude that both al-Shalmaghani and his associate Ibn 'Aun might have been killed on account of some political intrigues of the Court in which they were involved due to their intimate friendship of the Viziers of al-Muqtadir.

WORKS :

Ibn Abi 'Aun is said to have written the following works :—(A) *Kitab al-Dawawin* (B) *Kitab al-Rasail* (C) *Kitab-Bait Mal al-Suru* (D) *Kitab al-Tashbihat* (E) *Jawabat-Muskita* (F) *Kitab Lubb al-Adab fi Radde Jawab Dhawi'l Albab* (G) *Kitab Nawahyi Buldan.*

The first three books have not reached us. Manuscripts of the other four works are extant and available in many Libraries

of the world. *Kitab al-Tashbhiat* is a dictionary of similes in which about 1741 original and unique similes composed by 476 poets excluding unknown poets have been collected. It was first copied from some manuscript in Istanbul and it is now preserved in Shaikh-al-Islam Library at al-Madina, many copies of which are found in Taimur Pasha Library, Cairo, Egyptian State Library, Library of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Leningrad. This work is published under the world-famous Gibb Memorial Series and its edition was originally prepared under the supervision of Professor C.A. Storey for obtaining the Degree of Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge.

Lubb-ul-'Adab fi Radd Jawab Dhawi'l Albab and aitab al Jawabat al-Muskita are given as two separate works of Ibn Abi 'Aun by his bibliographers. But the contents of the chapters given by the bibliographers indicate that they are probably one and the same work. The chapters of the *Lubb-ul-Adab*, manuscript of which is preserved in the Berlin State Library—

(See Bibl. Sprenger No. 1205) are as follows :

Retorts of the Litterateurs(	الجوابات الجدية
Serious Retorts (	جوابات ذوي الآداب
Retorts full of thought and wisdom (	جوابات الفكر والحكم
Retorts of ascetics (	جوابات الزهاد والرهبان
Retorts of Muslim theologean (	جوابات المتكلمين
Retorts of Bedouins (	جوابات الاعراب
Retorts of Women (	جوابات النساء
Humerous retorts (	جوابات هزلية

Almost the same chapters are quoted in the catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the Library of Qassim Muhammad al-Rajab of Baghdad under No. 243 Photostat copy of *Kitab-al-Ajwebatul Muskita*. Manuscripts of this work are found in Istanbul, Berlin State Library and Baghdad Museum. An extract of this work is published in the English Quarterly—*Islamic Culture*, volume No. XVI No. 2 April 1942.

Kitab Nawahi'l Buldan : This work is noticed by the bibliographers under different titles. Ibn al-Nadim mentions

it under two different titles—*Kitab-al-Buldan fi Akhbar'l Ard* and has expressed his doubts as to whether it is the work of Ahmad-b-Abi 'Aun or Ibrahim-b-Abi 'Aun and further says that *Kitab-al Nawahi fi Akhbar'l Buldan* is the work of Abu Ishaq Ibn Abi 'Aun. This work is referred to as *Kitab al-Bilad* and is ascribed to Ahmad ibn Yaqub al-katib by M. Reinaud in his Introduction Generale page 61, wherein he mentions that a copy of this work was as St. Petersburg. But Kratskovsky in one of his articles (see collection of his essays volume IV page 151, published in Leningrad1957) wrote that *Kitab-al-Buldan* was found in St. Petersburg, but it is now in Munich Library in Germany. The reference to this work given in *Arabische Handschriften-Ergaruzungsheft* (Arabic Manuscripts—Supplement—pp. 160-161 of the Munich Library is as follows :

No. 959. *Kitab-al-Buldan* on cosmography compiled by Ahmad-ibn-Yaqub-b-Wadh al-Katib of the 3rd century *Hijri*, to which Reinaud has referred in his Introduction to Abul Fida p. 61 as existing in St. Petersburg. A translation of the note given in the catalogues of Munich Library is given below as it contains detailed information about this work. 959 Cod. arab. (466b) Munich.

Cosmography by Ahmed ibn Abi Ya'qub ibn Wadhih Alkatib (3rd century H.) Comp. on this manuscript Frahn in Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersb. 1838 vol. IV, p. 132 and Reinaud in his "Introduction ad Abulfedam p.LXI. The preface is followed by a lengthy description of Baghdad f.2^{b}, thereafter from f.26,^{b} the geography itself is given in 4 parts with the end of the 3rd part and the beginning of the 4th part missing : originally there were 93 sheets (9 layers of 10 sheets each and 3 sheets extra), but the 7th layers (f.61 to 71) is now not traceable. The text has been edited following our ms., viz. the description of the West (f.70 v. to 81 v. of the ms.) with a comprehensive introduction by M.J. de Goeje (Specimen e literis orientalibus exhibens descriptionem Al-Magribi, suntam e libro regionum Al. Jaqubii. Lugd. Bat. 1860) and the whole work by A.W.Th. Juynboll (Specimen e Literis orientalibus, exhibens Kitabo'l-bolden, sive librum, regionum, auctore Ahmed Ibn Abi Jaqub, noto nomine Al-Jaqubii. Lugd. Bat. 1861). The ms. is not badly written, but completely

without diacritical marks. The writer is 'Ali Ibn Abi Mohammed Ibn 'Ali Al-Kindi al-Anmati, the date is 21 Shawwal 660. Insertions on the first and the last sheet indicate that the copy originally belonged to Hasan ibn Mohammad ibn Qelaun, Mamluk Sultan of the Bahri Dynasty of Egypt. who later on donated it as Waqf to the Mosque Al-Jami' al-Mansub li'l-'imarat (sic:). This has been written by him in his own hand on 15 Rabi' 1,755. Mukhlinski brought the ms. to Petersburg. No second copy of this work is known.

Arabische Handschriften (Munchen), Erganzungsheft, p.160/161.

BIBLIOGRAPHY :

1. Ibn-al-Nadim's *al-Fihrist* (Flugel) p. 147. (Cairo edition p. 211.
2. Yaqut's *Mujam al-Udaba* (1907) volume I p. 296.
3. Hajj Khalfas' *Kashf al-Zunun* volume V p. 62
4. Bustani's *Encyclopaedia* volume I p. 365.
5. Jurgi Zaidan's *Tarikh Adab al-Lughat al-Arabiya* volume II p. 175.
6. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* volume I p. 154, Suppl. I pp. 188-189.
7. *Melanges de La Faculte Orientale* volume V. p. 518.
8. *al-Ma'arif* volume 17. p. 377.
9. *al Muwashshah.* p. 349.
10. Dr. M. Nizamuddin's *Introduction to the Jawami'ul Hikayat* by 'Aufi page 186.
11. *Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq* by al-Baghdadi.
12. *Nishwar-al-Muhadarah* (Jami'al Tawarikh) ed.Margoliouth volume I. p 12-13 and p. 141.
13. The *Table Talk of a Mesopatamian Judge* parts II and VII p. 208.

14. al-Thaalibi's Yatima, volume IV p. 274.

15. Tajarib al-Umam, volume I pp. 22 and 123.

16. Ibn Khallekan, (Wustenfeld) volume I p. 122.

17. Duwal-al-Islam volume I p. 154.

18. Introduction to *Kitab-al-Tasbiat*, Gibb Memorial Series 1950.

19. *Islamic Culture* volume XVI No. 2, April 1942 p. 202-212.

20. For his verses see *Kitab-al-Tashbihat*, *'Umdah*, volume I p. 205 and *Kitab-al Mikhlat* p. 184.

Diwan-al-Mā'ani volume I p. 328. *Nihayat al.'Arab* volume IV! V, P.9.